# PLUTARCH's LIVES:

10607.a.4

## VOLUME *the* SEVENTH.

CONTAINING

AGIS. DEM. POLIORCETES.
CLEOMENES. MARC. ANTONIUS.
TIB. GRACCHUS. DEMOSTHENES.
CA. GRACCHUS. M. TUL. CICERO.

*Tranſlated from the* GREEK.

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MDCCXLIX.

# THE LIFE OF *AGIS.*

THE Fable of *Ixion*, who embracing a Cloud inſtead of *Juno*, begot the *Centaurs*, was ingeniouſly enough invented to repreſent to us ambitious Men, whoſe Minds doting on Glory, (which is a meer Image of Virtue) produce nothing that is genuine or uniform, but born away by violent and unſteady Paſſions, their Actions being the Offſprings of ſuch a Conjunction, muſt needs be deform'd and unnatural; and they may ſay with the Herdſmen, in the Tragedy of *Sophocles*,

*We follow thoſe whom we ought to govern,*
*And they command us, though they're dumb.*

This is indeed the true Condition of thoſe ambitious Men, who to gain a vain Title of Magiſtracy, are content to ſubject themſelves to the Humour of the People: For as They who row in the fore-part of the Ship, may ſeem to guide the Motions of it, yet have continually an Eye on the Pilot who ſits at the Helm, and muſt

proceed in the Courſe He will ſteer; ſo theſe Men, ſteered as I may ſay by popular Applauſe, though they bear the Name of Governors, are in reality Slaves to the People. The Man who is compleatly wiſe and virtuous regards not Glory, but only as it diſpoſes and prepares his way to great Attempts. A young Man, I grant, may be permitted to glory a little in his good Actions; for (as *Theophraſtus* ſays) his Virtues which are yet tender, and as it were in the Bud, cheriſhed and ſupported by Praiſe, grow ſtronger, and take the deeper root: But when this Paſſion is exorbitant, it is dangerous in all Men, and eſpecially in Thoſe who govern a Commonwealth; for being joined with an unlimited Power, it often tranſports Men to a degree of Madneſs; ſo that now they no more think what is Good, to be Glorious; but will have theſe Actions only eſteemed Good that are Glorious. As *Phocion* therefore anſwered King *Antipater*, who ſought his Approbation of ſome unworthy Action, *I cannot be your Flatterer, and your Friend too*; ſo theſe Men ſhould anſwer the People, *I cannot govern and obey you*: For it may happen to the Commonwealth, as to the Serpent in the Fable, whoſe Tail riſing in Rebellion againſt the Head, complained (as of a great Grievance) that it was always forced to follow, and prayed, it might be permitted by Turns to lead the way; which being granted but for a Day, quickly diſcovered the Folly, by the Miſchiefs which befel the whole Body, and particularly to the Head, in following, contrary to Nature, a Guide that was Deaf and Blind. The Same we ſee does every day happen to Many, who, guided by the Inclinations of an ignorant and giddy Multitude, can neither ſtop, nor recover themſelves out of the Confuſion.

This is what has occurred to us to ſay, of that Glory which depends on the Vulgar, conſidering the ſad Effects of it in the Misfortunes of *Caius*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*; Men nobly born, whoſe generous Diſpoſition by Nature, was improved by an excellent Education; and who came to the Adminiſtration of Affairs with very ſincere Intentions;

tions; yet they were ruined, I cannot ſay, by an immoderate Deſire of Glory, but by a more excuſable fear of Infamy; for being exceſſively beloved and favoured by the People, they thought it an Ingratitude to deny them any thing, 'till the People and They mutually inflamed, and vying with each other in Honours and Benefits, things were at laſt brought to ſuch a paſs, that it was too late for them to ſay, *when a thing is not good in itſelf it is a ſhame to perſiſt in the Purſuit of it.*

This the judicious Reader will eaſily gather from the Story. I will now compare with them two *Lacedæmonian* Kings, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*; for They being deſirous alſo to raiſe the People, by reſtoring their obſolete Laws of Equality, incurred the Hatred of the Rich and Powerful, who could not endure to be deprived of thoſe Advantages which did ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſh them from the Vulgar. Theſe were not indeed Brothers by Nature, as the two *Romans*, but they had a kind of brotherly Reſemblance in their Actions and Deſigns, which took a riſe from ſuch Beginnings and Occaſions, as I am now about to relate.

When Gold and Silver (the great Debauchers of Mankind) had once gained Admittance into the *Lacedæmonian* Commonwealth, it was quickly followed by Avarice, Baſeneſs of Spirit, and all manner of Frauds in the Poſſeſſion, by Riot, Luxury, and Effeminacy in the Uſe. Then *Sparta* fell from her original Virtue and Glory, and ſo continued 'till the Days of *Agis* and *Leonidas*.

*Agis* was of the Royal Family of *Eurytion*, Son of *Eudamidas*, and the Sixth in deſcent from *Ageſilaus*, who being chief Commander of the *Grecians*, gained ſuch great Renown in the famous Expedition into *Aſia*. *Ageſilaus* left behind him a Son called *Archidamus*, who being ſlain by the *Calabrians* at *Mardonium* in *Italy*, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Agis*; He being killed by *Antipater* near *Megalopolis*, and leaving no Iſſue, was ſucceeded by his Brother *Eudamidas*; He, by a Son called

*Archidamus*; and *Archidamus* by another *Eudamidas*, the Father of this *Agis* of whom we now Treat.

*Leonidas*, Son of *Cleonymus*, was of the other Royal Branch of the *Agiades*, and the Eighth in deſcent from *Pauſanias*, who defeated *Mardonius* in the Battle of *Platea*. *Pauſanias* was ſucceeded by a Son called *Pliſtonax*; and He by another *Pauſanias*, who being baniſhed, and leading a private Life at *Tegea*, his eldeſt Son *Ageſipolis* reigned in his Place; He dying without Iſſue, was ſucceeded by a younger Brother called *Cleombrotus*, who left two Sons: the Elder was *Ageſipolis*, who reigned but a ſhort time, and died without Iſſue; the younger was called *Cleomenes*, who had alſo two Sons, *Acrotatus* and *Cleonymus*; the Firſt died before his Father, but left a Son called *Areus*, who ſucceeded, and being ſlain at *Corinth*, left the Kingdom to his Son *Acrotatus*: This *Acrotatus* was defeated, and ſlain near *Megalopolis*, in a Battle againſt the Tyrant *Ariſtodemus*; he left his Wife big with Child, who being delivered of a Son, *Leonidas* (Son of the above-named *Cleonymus*) was made his Guardian, and the young Man dying in his Minority, He ſucceeded in the Kingdom.

*Leonidas* was a Man in no great Eſteem with the People; for though there were at that time a general Corruption in Manners, yet a greater Averſion to the old Inſtitutions appeared in Him than in Others; for having lived a long time among the great Lords of *Perſia*, and been a Follower of King *Seleucus*, he unadviſedly imitated the Pride and Luxury of thoſe Courts, in the limited Government of a *Græcian* Commonwealth.

*Agis* on the contrary ſhewed himſelf to all Men obliging and affable, and did in goodneſs of Nature, and greatneſs of Mind, not only far excel *Leonidas*, but in a manner all the Kings that had reigned ſince the great *Ageſilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things, by his Mother *Ageſiſtrata*, and his Grandmother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthieſt of the *Lacedæmonians*; yet before the Age of Twenty,

Twenty, he ſo far overcame himſelf, as to renounce effeminate Pleaſures. He was a very handſom Perſon, and of a graceful Behaviour; yet to give a check to the Vanity he might take therein, would go always plain and mean in his Cloaths. In his Diet, Bathings, and in all his Exerciſes, he choſe to imitate the old *Laconian* Frugality and Temperance, and was often heard to ſay, *he would not deſire the Kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that Authority to reſtore their ancient Laws and Diſcipline.*

The *Lacedæmonians* might date the beginning of their Corruption from their Conqueſt of *Athens*, from which time they began to be full of Gold and Silver: Nevertheleſs the *Agrarian* Law eſtabliſhed by *Lycurgus* remaining in Force, (by which every one was obliged to leave his Lot or Portion of Land, together with his Houſe, intirely to his Son) a kind of Order and Equality was thereby maintained, which ſtill in ſome Degree preſerved them from Ruin. But one *Epitadeus* happening to be *Ephore*, a Man of a factious violent Spirit, and on ſome Occaſion incenſed againſt his Son, he procured a Decree, that all Men ſhould have Liberty to diſpoſe of their Land by Gift or Sale, or by their laſt Will and Teſtament; which being promoted by Him to ſatisfy a Paſſion of Revenge, and thro' Covetouſneſs conſented to by Others, an excellent Inſtitution was abrogated; the effect whereof was, that the monied Men coveting to poſſeſs the Land, the right Heirs were by Degrees diſinherited, and all the Wealth being in the Hands of a few, the Generality were poor and miſerable; Liberal Arts and Sciences were neglected, and the City filled with a mean ſort of Mechanicks, always envious, and hating the Rich: There did not remain above ſeven hundred of the old *Spartan* Families, of which perhaps one hundred might have Eſtates in Land: The reſt had neither Wealth nor Honour, were ſluggiſh and unperforming in the War abroad, and ever greedy of Novelty and Change at home.

*Agis* therefore believing it a glorious Action (as in truth it was) to repeople the City, and to bring them back

back to their firſt Inſtitution, began to ſound the Inclinations of the Citizens. He found the young Men diſpoſed beyond his Expectation; for being taken with the ſpecious Name of Liberty, they ſeemed as ready to ſhift their Manners as their Cloaths; but the old Men, habituated and more confirmed in their Vices, were ſtartled at the very Name of *Lycurgus*, as a fugitive Slave fears to be brought back before his offended Maſter; theſe Men could not endure to hear *Agis* continually deploring the preſent State of *Sparta*, and wiſhing ſhe might be reſtored to her ancient Glory. But on the other ſide, *Lyſander*, the Son of *Lybis*; *Mandroclidas*, the Son of *Ecphanes*, together with *Ageſilaus*, did not only approve his Deſign, but aſſiſted and confirmed him in it. *Lyſander* had a great Authority and Credit with the People; *Mandroclidas* was eſteemed the ableſt Man of his time, to manage any Affair in the *Græcian* Aſſemblies, and beſides his uncommon Skill and Cunning, he was exceeding bold, and enterpriſing. *Ageſilaus* was the King's Uncle by the Mother's ſide, an eloquent Man, but covetous and voluptuous; he was not moved by any Conſideration of publick Good, but rather ſeemed to be perſuaded to it by his Son *Hypomedon*, (whoſe Courage and ſignal Actions in War had gained him a high Eſteem among the young Men of *Sparta*) though indeed the true Motive was, becauſe he had many Debts, and hoped by this Means to be freed from them. As ſoon as *Agis* had prevailed with his Uncle, he endeavoured by his Mediation to gain his Mother alſo, who being exceeding rich, had by her many Debtors, Friends and Followers, a conſiderable Power in the City. At the firſt Propoſal ſhe was very averſe, and earneſtly adviſed her Son not to engage in ſo difficult and ſo dangerous an Enterpriſe; but *Ageſilaus* endeavoured to poſſeſs her, that the thing was not ſo difficult as ſhe imagined, and that it might in all likelihood redound to the great Honour and Advantage of her Family. The King her Son earneſtly beſought her, not to decline aſſiſting

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him in ſo glorious a Deſign; he told her, *he could not pretend to equal other Kings in Riches, the very Followers and Servants of* Seleucus *or* Ptolemy *abounding more in Wealth than all the* Spartan *Kings put together; but if by Moderation and Contempt of Wealth and Pleaſure, he could ſurpaſs their Luxury and Abundance, if he could reſtore their former Equality to the* Spartans, *then he ſhould be a great King indeed.* In concluſion, the Mother and the Grandmother alſo were ſo taken with the young Man's generous Ambition, that they did not only conſent, but were ready on all occaſions to ſpur him on to a Perſeverance, and engaged to him not only the Men with whom they had an Intereſt, but the Women alſo, knowing well that the *Lacedæmonian* Wives had always a great Power with their Husbands, who uſed to impart to them their State-Affairs, with greater freedom than the Women wou'd communicate with the Men in the private Buſineſs of their Families; which was indeed one of the the greateſt Obſtacles to this Deſign; for the Money of *Sparta* being moſt of it in the Womens Hands, it was their Intereſt to oppoſe it, not only as depriving them of thoſe ſuperfluous Trifles, in which through want of Virtue they placed their chief Felicity, but alſo becauſe they knew their Wealth was the main ſupport of their Power and Credit.

Thoſe therefore who were of this Faction, had recourſe to *Leonidas*, repreſenting to him, how it was his part, as the elder and more experienced, to put a ſtop to the ill-adviſed Projects of a raſh young Man. *Leonidas*, though of Himſelf ſufficiently inclined to oppoſe *Agis*, durſt not openly for fear of the People, who did manifeſtly favour him, and were deſirous of this change; but underhand he did all he could to incenſe the chief Magiſtrates againſt him, and on all Occaſions craftily inſinuated, that Agis *having deſigned an Arbitrary Government, would divide among the Poor what belonged to the Rich; that he would declare all Debts aboliſh'd, and divide the Lands as a Bribe for future Services: That inſtead*

*ſtead of ſo many rich Citizens of* Sparta, *he might have a Company of Slaves to be his Guard.*

*Agis* nevertheleſs little regarding theſe Rumours, cauſed *Lyſander* to be choſen *Ephore*; then took the firſt Occaſion of propoſing his *Rhetra* or Decree to the Senate, the chief Articles whereof were theſe: *That every one ſhould be free from their Debts: All the Lands to be divided into equal portions. Thoſe that lay betwixt the Valley of* Pellene *and Mount* Taygetus, *as far as the Cities of* Mallea *and* Sellaſia, *into four thouſand five hundred Lots, the remainder into fifteen thouſand; theſe laſt to be ſhared by ſome choſen out of the adjacent Countries, Men able and fit to bear Arms: The firſt among the natural* Spartans, *admitting alſo of Strangers to ſupply their Number, ſuch as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All theſe were to be divided into fifteen Companies, ſome of four hundred, ſome of Two, with a Diet and Diſcipline agreeable to the Laws of* Lycurgus.

This Decree being propoſed in the Senate, occaſioned a hot Debate; ſo that *Lyſander* doubting the Event, would not expect the Iſſue, but immediately convoked the great Aſſembly of the People, to whom He, *Mandroclidas* and *Ageſilaus* made Orations, exhorting them not to ſuffer the Majeſty of *Sparta* to be brought into Contempt, to gratify a few rich Men, who by ſpecious Pretences endeavoured to elude them, only that They Themſelves might paſs their time in Riot and Delights. They bad them call to mind, how ancient Oracles had forewarned them againſt Avarice, as the very Plague and utter Ruin of *Sparta*: That they ſhould think of the Oracle lately delivered from the famous Temple of *Paſiphae* in *Thelamia*. Some ſay, this *Paſiphae* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, who had by *Jupiter* a Son called *Ammon*: Others are of Opinion, it was *Caſſandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this place, was called *Paſiphae*, as one ſhould ſay, *clearly revealing Secrets*, as the Light diſcovers all things to the Eye. *Phylarchus* ſays, it was *Daphne*, the Daughter

ter of *Amyclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transformed into a Laurel, and honoured by that God with the Gift of Prophecy. But be it as it will, it is certain the People were made to apprehend, that this Oracle had commanded them to return to their former ſtate of Equality ſettled by *Lycurgus*. As ſoon as Theſe had done ſpeaking, *Agis* ſtood up, and ſaid he would not amuſe them with vain words, but contribute to what had been propoſed for their Advantage, by real Effects. In the firſt place, he would divide among them all his Patrimony, which was of large Extent in Tillage and Paſture; he would alſo give ſix hundred Talents in ready Money, and that his Mother, Grandmother, and his other Friends and Relations, who were the richeſt of the *Lacedæmonians*, were ready to follow his Example. The People tranſported with Admiration of the young Man's Generoſity, highly applauded, and loudly declared, there had not been for three hundred Years ſo worthy a King in *Sparta*.

But on the other ſide, *Leonidas* was now more than ever averſe, being ſenſible that He and his Friends would be obliged to contribute with their Riches, and yet all the Honour and Obligation would redound to *Agis*. He aſked him then before them all, *Whether* Lycurgus *were not in his Opinion a wiſe Man, and a Lover of his Country? Agis* anſwering, *He was: And when did* Lycurgus, (replied *Leonidas*) *cancel Debts, or admit of Strangers? He who thought the Safety of the Commonwealth conſiſted in their Excluſion?* To this *Agis* replied, *It is no wonder that* Leonidas, *who is married, and has Children by a Wife taken out of a* Perſian *Court, ſhould know little of* Lycurgus, *or his Laws.* Lycurgus *took away both Debts and Uſury, by taking away Money, and excluded only ſuch Strangers as would not conform to the Laws of his Commonwealth, not for any Ill-will to them, but leſt they ſhould infect the City with their Covetouſneſs, for otherwiſe it is well known, that He Himſelf gladly entertained* Tarpander, Thales *and* Phericides, *tho' they were Strangers, purely becauſe he perceived they were of the ſame*

*ſame mind with Himſelf. And even you,* continued he, *who have commended* Ecprepes, *becauſe when he was one of the* Ephori *he cut off two of the nine Strings from the Inſtrument of* Phrynis *the Muſician, and applauded Thoſe who did afterwards imitate him, in cutting the Strings of* Timotheus's *Harp, with what Face can you blame Me, for deſigning to cut off Superfluity and Luxury from the Commonwealth? Do you think thoſe Men were ſo concerned only about a Fiddle-ſtring, or intended any thing elſe, than by checking the Voluptuouſneſs of Muſick, to keep out a way of living, which might deſtroy the Harmony of the City?*

From this time forward, as the common People followed *Agis* ſo the rich Men adhered to *Leonidas*, who joining his Authority with their Intereſt, things were ſo managed in the Senate, (whoſe chief Power conſiſted in preparing all Laws before they were propoſed to the People) that with much ado the deſigned *Rhetra* or Decree of *Agis* was rejected, though but by one only Vote; whereupon *Lyſander*, who (as we ſaid) was *Ephore*, and of *Agis* his Party, reſolving to be revenged on *Leonidas*, drew up an Information againſt him, grounded on two old Laws: The One forbids any of the Race of *Hercules* to have Children by a Stranger; and the Other makes it capital for a *Lacedæmonian* to travel into foreign Countries. Whilſt he ſet Others on to manage this Accuſation, He with his Collegues went to obſerve the Heavens, according to a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed among them, which was performed in the following manner. Every ninth Year the *Ephori* chooſing a Star-light Night, (when there was neither Cloud nor Moon) ſat down together in Quiet and Silence; and if they chanced to ſpy the ſhooting of a Star, they preſently pronounced their King guilty of ſome great Crime againſt the Gods, and thereupon he was immediately ſecluded from all Exerciſe of Regal Power, 'till he could be relieved by an Oracle from *Delphi* or *Olympus*.

*Lyſander* therefore aſſured the People, he had ſeen a Star ſhoot, and at the ſame time *Leonidas* was cited to anſwer

anſwer for Himſelf. Witneſſes were produced to teſtify he had married an *Aſian* Woman, beſtowed on him by one of King *Seleucus* his Lieutenants; that he had two Children by her, but there happening ſome difference betwixt them, ſhe did ſo mortally hate him, that flying from Her, he was in a manner forced to return to *Sparta*, where his Predeceſſor dying without Iſſue, he took upon him the Government. *Lyſander* not content with This, perſuaded *Cleombrotus* to lay claim to the Kingdom: He was of the Royal Family, and Son-in-law to *Leonidas*, who fearing now the Event of this Proceſs, was fled to the Temple of *Minerva*, called *Calciæcos*, together with his Daughter, the Wife of *Cleombrotus*; for She on this Occaſion reſolved to leave her Huſband, and to follow her Father. *Leonidas* being again cited, and not appearing, they pronounced a Sentence of Depoſition againſt him, and made *Cleombrotus* King in his place.

Soon after this Revolution, *Lyſander* (his Year expiring) went out of his Office, and new *Ephori* were choſen of the contrary Faction, who immediately conſpiring to reſtore *Leonidas*, cited *Lyſander* and *Mandroclidas* to anſwer, for having, contrary to Law, cancelled Debts, and deſigned a new Diviſion of Lands. They ſeeing themſelves in Danger, had recourſe to the two Kings, and repreſented to them, how neceſſary it was for their Intereſt and Safety reſolutely to unite, thereby to prevent the Deſigns of the *Ephori*, and put a ſtop to their Encroachments. *The Power of the* Ephori (they ſaid) *was then only to be exerted when there happened to be any Diſſenſion between the two Kings, in which Caſe they had a Right to determine which of them propoſed what was moſt beneficial to the Publick; but when the two Kings were unanimous, they had no right to interpoſe, or reſiſt their Authority.* *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* thus perſuaded, went together with their Friends into the Market-place, where raiſing the *Ephori* from their Seats, they placed Others on their room, (of which *Ageſilaus* was One;) then arming a company of young Men, and releaſing Many out of Priſon, Thoſe of the contrary Fac-

tion began to be in great fear of their Lives; but there was no Blood ſpilt. *Agis* on the contrary having notice that *Ageſilaus* had ordered a Company of Soldiers to lie in wait for *Leonidas*, to kill him as he fled to *Tegea*, immediately ſent ſome of his Followers to defend him, and to convey him ſafely into that City.

Thus far all things proceeded proſperouſly, None daring to oppoſe; but by the ſordid Avarice of one Man, theſe promiſing Beginnings were blaſted. *Ageſilaus* (as we ſaid) was much in Debt, yet had a fair Eſtate in Land, and though he gladly joined in this Deſign to be quit of his Debts, he was not at all willing to part with his Land; therefore he perſuaded *Agis*, that if Both theſe things ſhould be put in Execution at the ſame time, ſo great and ſo ſudden an Alteration might cauſe ſome dangerous Commotion; but if Debts were in the firſt place cancelled, the rich Men would afterwards more eaſily be prevailed with to part with their Land. *Lyſander* alſo was of the ſame Opinion, being deceived in like manner by the Craft of *Ageſilaus*; ſo that all Men were preſently commanded to bring in the Bonds (or Deeds of Obligation, by the *Lacedæmonians* called *Claria*) into the Market-place, which being laid together in a Heap, they ſet Fire to it. The Uſurers and other Creditors, one may eaſily imagine, beheld it with a heavy Heart, but *Ageſilaus* told them ſcoffingly, *His Eyes had never ſeen a Flame ſo bright and glorious.*

Soon after This the People preſſed earneſtly for a diviſion of Lands: the Kings alſo had ordered it to be done; but *Ageſilaus* ſometimes petending one Difficulty, and ſometimes Another, delayed the Execution, 'till an Occaſion happened to call *Agis* to the Wars. The *Achæans*, in virtue of a League defenſive, ſent to demand Succours, for they expected every Day when the *Ætolians* would attempt to enter *Peloponneſus*, by the Confines of *Megara*: They had made *Aratus* their General, and ſent Him with an Army to hinder this Incurſion. *Aratus* writ to the *Ephori*, who immedietely gave Order that *Agis* ſhould haſten to their Aſſiſtance with

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the *Lacedæmonian* Auxiliaries. *Agis* was extremely well pleaſed to ſee the forwardneſs of the young Men to this Expedition; for though they were very poor, yet freed from Debts, and in hopes of being Maſters of Land at their Return, they followed chearfully, and in good Equipage. The Cities through which they paſſed, were in Admiration to ſee how they marched from one end of *Peloponneſus* to the Other, without making any Noiſe: It gave them Occaſion to diſcourſe with one another, how great might be the Temperance and Modeſty of the ancient *Lacedæmonians*, under their Famous Captains *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, and *Leonidas*, ſince they ſaw ſuch Diſcipline and exact Obedience under a King, who perhaps was the youngeſt Man in all the Army. They ſaw alſo how he was content to fare hardly, ready to undergo any Labours, and not to be diſtinguiſhed by Pomp or Richneſs of Habit, from the meaneſt of his Soldiers. But if by this Moderation and Conduct he gained the Love of the Soldiers and the common People, it made him ſtill more odious to the Rich and Powerful, who were afraid ſuch an Example might work an Impreſſion to their Prejudice, in all the neighbouring Countries.

*Agis* having joined *Aratus* near the City of *Corinth*, a Council of War was called, to debate whether or no it were expedient to give the Enemy Battle. *Agis* on this Occaſion ſhewed a great Forwardneſs and Reſolution, yet without Obſtinacy or Preſumption: He declared *it was his Opinion they ought to fight, thereby to hinder the Enemy from entring* Peloponneſus; *but nevertheleſs he would ſubmit to the Judgment of* Aratus, *not only as the elder and more experienced Captain, but as he was General of the* Achæans, *whoſe Forces He would not pretend to command, but was only come thither to aſſiſt them.* I am not ignorant, that *Baton* of *Synope* relates it in another manner: He ſays, *Aratus* would have fought, and that *Agis* was againſt it; but it is moſt certain he was miſtaken, not having read what *Aratus* Himſelf writes in his own Juſtification; for he expreſly tells us, That knowing the

People had well-nigh got in their Harveſt, he thought it much better to let the Enemy paſs, than to hazard by a Battle the loſs of the whole Country: And therefore giving Thanks to the Confederates for their readineſs, he diſmiſſed them. Thus *Agis*, not without having gained a great a deal of Honour, returned to *Sparta*, where he found the People in a Mutiny, and all things in Confuſion, occaſioned by the Avarice and ill Government of *Ageſilaus*.

For He being now one of the *Ephori*, and by that Authority freed from the Fear which formerly kept him in ſome Reſtraint, forbore no kind of Oppreſſion which might bring in Gain: Among other things he exacted a Thirteenth Month's Tax, whereas before they had never paid more than Twelve. For theſe and other Reaſons fearing his Enemies, and knowing how he was hated by the People, he thought it neceſſary to maintain a Guard, which always accompanied him to the Courts of Juſtice; and preſuming on his Power, he was grown ſo inſolent, that of the two Kings, the One he openly contemned; and if he ſhewed any Reſpect towards *Agis*, he would have it thought rather an Effect of his near Relation, than any Duty or Submiſſion to the Royal Authority; and being deſirous all Men ſhou'd be confirmed in a Belief of his Power, he gave it out he was to continue one of the *Ephori* the enſuing Year alſo.

His Enemies, alarmed by this Report, immediately conſpired againſt him, and bringing back *Leonidas* from *Tegea*, re-eſtabliſhed him in the Kingdom, to which the People (highly incenſed for having been defrauded in the promiſed Diviſion of Lands) eaſily conſented. *Ageſilaus* himſelf would hardly have eſcaped their Fury, if his Son *Hypomedon*, a Man for his Virtues very much eſteemed by the People, had not mediated in his behalf, and then privately conveyed him out of the City.

During this Combuſtion, the two Kings fled, *Agis* to the Temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to That of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* more incenſed againſt his Son-in-law,

law, meddled not with *Agis*, but with his Soldiers went to *Cleombrotus*'s Sanctuary, and there with great Paſſion reproached him for conſpiring with his Enemies, uſurping his Throne, and forcing him from his Country; and all This in Defiance of the Affinity between them. *Cleombrotus* having little to ſay for himſelf ſtood ſilent. His Wife *Chelonis*, the Daughter of *Leonidas*, had been a Partner with her Father in his Sufferings; for when *Cleombrotus* uſurped the Kingdom, ſhe forſook him, and wholly applied herſelf to comfort her Father in his Affliction: Whilſt he was in Sanctuary ſhe ſtaid with him, and when he fled ſhe attended him, bewailing his Misfortune, and extremely diſpleaſed with *Cleombrotus*: But now upon this turn of Fortune, ſhe was as zealous and as aſſiduous in Expreſſions of Love and Duty to her Huſband, whom ſhe embraced with one Arm, and held her two little Children with the Other. All preſent were extremely taken with this uncommon Inſtance of Conjugal Piety and Affection, whilſt the diſconſolate Lady in a looſe mourning Habit, and with her Hair diſhevelled in a ſuppliant Poſture, ſpoke thus to *Leonidas*.

*This mourning Veſt, theſe dejected Looks, and all thoſe other Tokens of unutterable Woe, which cannot be concealed, are not worn for the ſake of* Cleombrotus, *but were put on to condole with You in your Baniſhment; and now you are reſtored to your Country, and to your Kingdom, muſt I ſtill remain in Grief and Miſery? Or would you have me attired in my Feſtival Ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, when you have killed within my Arms the Man to whom you gave me for a Wife? Either* Cleombrotus *muſt appeaſe you by Mine and my Children's Tears, or he muſt ſuffer a Puniſhment greater than his Faults have deſerved: He ſhall infallibly ſee me die before him, Me, whom he ſo tenderly loves. To what end ſhould I live, or how ſhall I appear among the* Spartan *Ladies, when it ſhall ſo manifeſtly be ſeen, that I have not been able to move Compaſſion either in my Huſband for the ſake of my Father, or in my Father for the ſake of my Huſband? I*

*was born, it ſeems, to be diſhonoured and diſgraced, both as a Wife and Daughter, in that Relation which is neareſt to me in each Capacity. As for* Cleombrotus, *I ſufficiently diſowned His Cauſe, when I forſook Him to follow You; but now you yourſelf will juſtify his Proceedings, by ſhewing to the World, that for the ſake of a Kingdom it is juſt to kill a Son-in-law, and be regardleſs of a Daughter.* *Chelonis* having ended this Lamentation, turned her weeping Eyes to the Spectators, then gently repoſed her Head in her Huſband's Boſom.

*Leonidas*, touched with Compaſſion, withdrew a while to adviſe with his Friends; then returning, condemned *Cleombrotus* to perpetual Baniſhment: *Chelonis*, he ſaid, ought to ſtay with him; it not being juſt ſhe ſhould forſake a Father, who had granted at her Interceſſion the Life of her Huſband; but all he could ſay would not prevail. She roſe up immediately, and taking one of her Children in her Arms, gave the other to her Huſband; then having performed her Devotions at the Altar where ſhe had taken Sanctuary, ſhe chearfully followed him into Baniſhment. To be ſhort, ſo great was the Virtue and Generoſity expreſſed by *Chelonis* on this Occaſion, that if *Cleombrotus* were not ſtrangely blinded by Ambition, he would chooſe to be baniſhed with ſo excellent a Woman, rather than without Her to poſſeſs a Kingdom.

*Cleombrotus* thus removed, *Leonidas* thought fit alſo to diſplace the *Ephori*, and to chooſe others in their room; then he began to conſider how he might entrap *Agis*: At firſt he endeavoured by fair means to perſuade him to leave the Sanctuary, and partake with him (as was his Right) in the Kingdom: The People, he ſaid, would eaſily pardon the Errors of a young Man, ambitious of Glory, and deceived by the Craft of *Ageſilaus*. But finding *Agis* was ſuſpicious, and not to be prevailed with to quit his Sanctuary, he gave over that Deſign; yet what could not then be effected by the Diſſimulation of an Enemy, was ſoon after brought to paſs by the Treachery of a Friend.

*Amphares*,

*Amphares*, *Demochares* and *Archeſilaus* did often viſit *Agis*, and he was ſo confident of their Fidelity, that after a while he was prevailed with to accompany them to the Baths, which were not far diſtant, they conſtantly returning to ſee him ſafe again into the Temple. *Amphares* had borrowed a great deal of Plate and rich Houſhold-ſtuff of *Ageſiſtrata*, and hoped if he could deſtroy Her and the whole Family, he might peaceably enjoy thoſe Goods. To ſo baſe an Intent, he was ready to ſerve *Leonidas* in any treacherous way, and being one of the *Ephori*, did all he could to incenſe the reſt of his Collegues againſt *Agis*. Theſe Men therefore finding that *Agis* would never ſtir from his Sanctuary, but only when he went to the Bath, reſolved to make uſe of that Occaſion: And one Day in his Return, they met and ſaluted him as formerly, diſcourſing pleaſantly by the way, as familiar Friends uſe to do, 'till coming to the turning of a Street which led to the Priſon, *Amphares* by virtue of his Office arreſted *Agis*, and told him, He muſt go with Him before the other *Ephori*, to anſwer for his Miſdemeanors. At the ſame time *Demochares*, who was a tall ſtrong Man, threw his Cloke over his Head, and dragged him after by the Neck, whilſt the Others went behind to thruſt him on; ſo that none of *Agis*'s Friends being near to aſſiſt him, they eaſily got him into the Priſon, where *Leonidas* was already arrived, with a Company of Soldiers, who ſtrongly guarded all the Avenues: The *Ephori* were alſo there with as many of the Senators as they knew to be true to their Party, being deſirous to proceed with ſome reſemblance of Juſtice. Firſt they bade him give an Account, why he had gone about to alter the Government? To which *Agis* (only ſmiling at their Craft and Diſſimulation) anſwered not a Word: *Amphares* told him, *It was more ſeaſonable to weep, for now the time was come in which he ſhould be puniſhed for his Preſumption.* Another of the *Ephori* ſeeming more favourable, (and offering as it were an Excuſe) aſked him, *whether he was not forced to what he did by* Ageſilaus *and* Lyſander?

der? But *Agis* anſwered, *he had not been conſtrained by any Man, nor had any other Intent in what he did, but only to follow the Example of* Lycurgus, *and to govern conformably to his Laws.* The ſame *Ephore* aſked him, *Whether now at leaſt he did not repent his Raſhneſs?* to which he replied, *That though he ſaw unavoidable Death before his Eyes, yet he could never repent of ſo juſt and ſo glorious a Deſign.* They had not the patience to hear him any longer, but commanded the Serjeants to carry him into the Decade, (which was a place in the Priſon where they uſed to ſtrangle Malefactors.) The Officers refuſed to obey, and the very mercenary Soldiers declined it, believing it an inſolent and a wicked Act to lay violent Hands on a King; which as ſoon as *Demochares* perceived, threatning and reviling them for it, He Himſelf thruſt him into the Room.

By this time the News of *Agis*'s being ſeized having reached all Parts of the City, had occaſioned a great Concourſe of People with Lanthorns and Torches about the Priſon-Gates, and in the midſt of them the Mother and the Grandmother of *Agis*, crying out with a loud Voice, that their King ought to appear, and to be heard by the People, and ſhould at leaſt be proceeded with in the uſual Forms of Juſtice. But this Clamour, inſtead of preventing, haſtened his Death, his Enemies fearing if the Tumult ſhould increaſe, he might that very Night be reſcued out of their Hands.

*Agis* being now at the point to die, perceived one of the Serjeants bitterly bewailing his Misfortune: *Weep not Friend*, (ſays he) *for Me, who die innocent, but rather grieve for Thoſe who are guilty of this wicked Act*; *My Condition is much better than Theirs.* As ſoon as he had ſpoken theſe Words, not ſhewing the leaſt ſign of Fear, he patiently ſtretched out his Neck to the Executioner.

Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the Priſon-gate, where he found *Ageſiſtrata*, who caſting herſelf at his Feet, he gently raiſed her up, pretending ſtill the ſame Friendſhip as formerly: He aſſured her, ſhe need not fear any farther Violence ſhould be offered

offered againſt her Son; and that if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might go in and ſee him; ſhe begged her Mother might alſo have the favour to be admitted: and he replied, No Body ſhould hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the Gate ſhould again be locked, and the Grandmother to be firſt introduced; ſhe was now grown very old, and had lived all her Days with great Reputation of Virtue and Wiſdom. As ſoon as *Amphares* thought ſhe was diſpatched, he told *Ageſiſtrata*, She might now go in if ſhe pleaſed; ſhe entered, where beholding her Son's Body ſtretched on the Ground, and her Mother hanging by the Neck, ſhe ſtood at firſt aſtoniſhed at ſo horrid a Spectacle; but after a while recollecting her Spirits, the firſt thing ſhe did, was to aſſiſt the Soldiers in taking down the Body; then covering it decently, ſhe laid it by her Son's, whom embracing, and kiſſing his Cheeks; *O my Son*, ſaid ſhe, *it is thy too great Mercy and Goodneſs which has brought Thee and Us to this untimely End. Amphares*, who ſtood watching behind the door, hearing this, ruſhed in haſtily, and with a furious Tone and Countenance ſaid to her, *Since you approve ſo well of your Son's Actions, it is fit you ſhould partake in his Reward.* She riſing up to meet her Deſtiny, only uttered thoſe few Words, *I pray the Gods that all this may redound to the good of* Sparta.

And now the three Bodies being expoſed to view, and the Fact divulged, no fear of Magiſtrates could hinder the People from expreſſing a deteſtation of it, or from hating the chief Contrivers, and eſpecially *Leonidas* and *Amphares*; they were not afraid openly to declare, that ſo wicked and barbarous an Act had never been committed in *Sparta*, ſince firſt the *Doriens* inhabited *Peloponneſus*; the very Enemies in War, they ſaid, were always cautious of ſpilling the Blood of a *Lacedæmonian* King, inſomuch that in any Encounter they would decline, and endeavour to avoid them, ſo great a Reſpect they bore to the Royal Majeſty. I muſt needs ſay, it is very remarkable, that in ſo many Battles fought betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and the other *Græcians*, none but

*Cleom-*

*Cleombrotus* was killed, being wounded with a Javelin, at the Battle of *Leuctra*, a little before the days of King *Philip* of *Macedon*. I am not ignorant, that the *Meſſenians* affirm, *Theopompus* was alſo ſlain by Their *Ariſtomenes*; but the *Lacedæmonians* deny it, and ſay, He was only wounded: Be it as it will, it is certain at leaſt that *Agis* was the firſt King put to death by the *Ephori*, with a form and pretence of Juſtice, and only for having endeavoured to reduce them to their original Inſtitution, a Deſign well becoming the Courage of a noble *Spartan*.

Thus *Agis* had the fortune to be ill treated by his Enemies, and worſe by his Friends; for if he had reaſon to complain of *Leonidas*, whoſe Life he had ſaved, much more of *Amphares*, in whoſe Friendſhip he repoſed the higheſt Confidence: So unmercifully was he dealt withal by Others, who being himſelf of a moſt mild and generous Diſpoſition, deſerved to be beloved by all Mankind.

THE

# THE LIFE OF *CLEOMENES.*

THUS fell *Agis*. His Brother *Archidamus* was too quick for *Leonidas*, and ſaved himſelf by a timely Retreat. But his Wife, then newly brought to Bed, the Tyrant forced from her own Houſe, and compelled her to marry his Son *Cleomenes*, though at that time too young for a Wife; for he was unwilling that any one elſe ſhould have her, ſhe being Heireſs to her Father *Gylippus*'s great Eſtate; for Perſon, the fineſt Woman in all *Greece*, very good-natured, of an exemplary Life; and therefore, they ſay, ſhe did all ſhe could, that ſhe might not be compelled to this Match.

Being thus married to *Cleomenes*, ſhe hated *Leonidas*, but to the Youth ſhe ſhewed herſelf a kind and obliging Wife. He, as ſoon as they came together, began to love her very much, and the conſtant Kindneſs that ſhe ſtill retained for the Memory of *Agis*, wrought ſomewhat of Concern in the young Man for him, ſo that he would often enquire of her concerning what had paſſed, and

and attentively liſten to the Story of *Agis*'s Deſigns. Now *Cleomenes* had a generous and great Soul; he was as temperate and moderate in his Pleaſures as *Agis*, but not ſo very cautious, circumſpect and gentle: A Spur of Paſſion always galled him, and his Eagerneſs to purſue that which he thought good and juſt, was violent and impetuous; to make Men willing to obey, he conceived to be the beſt Diſcipline; but likewiſe to break the ſtubborn, and force them to be better, was in his Opinion commendable and brave. This Diſpoſition made him diſlike the Management of the City: The Citizens lay diſſolved in ſupine Idleneſs and Pleaſures; the King minded nothing, deſigning, if no body gave him any Diſturbance, to waſte his Time in Eaſe and Riot; the Publick was neglected, and each Man intent upon his private Gain. It was dangerous, now *Agis* was killed, to mention the exerciſing and training of their Youth; and to ſet up for the ancient Bravery and Equality, was Treaſon againſt the State. It is ſaid alſo that *Cleomenes*, whilſt a Boy, ſtudied Philoſophy under *Sphærus* the *Boryſthenite*, who coming to *Sparta*, was very diligent in inſtructing the Youth: *Sphærus* was one of the chief of *Zeno* the *Citiean*'s Scholars, and it is likely that he admired the manly Temper of *Cleomenes*, and inflamed his generous Ambition. The ancient *Leonidas* (as Story ſaith) being asked *what manner of Poet he thought* Tyrtæus, replied, *An excellent one to whet the Courages of Youth, for being filled with Fury by his Poems, they daringly ventured on any Danger*: Now the *Stoick* Philoſophy is a dangerous Incentive to hot and fiery Diſpoſitions, but being mixed with a grave and cautious Temper, is very good to fix and ſettle the Reſolution.

Upon the Death of his Father *Leonidas*, he ſucceeded, and obſerving the Citizens of all ſorts to be debauched; the Rich neglecting the Publick, and intent on their own Gain and Pleaſure, and the Poor being cramped in their private Fortunes, grown unactive, cowardly, and not inclinable to the *Spartan* Inſtitution and way of

Breeding

Breeding; in ſhort, that He had only the Name of King, and the *Ephori* all the Power, he reſolved to change the preſent Poſture of Affairs. He had a Friend whoſe Name was *Xenares*, who had been his Lover, (ſuch an Affection the *Spartans* expreſs by the Word Ἐμπνεύσις) Him he ſounded, and of Him he would commonly enquire what manner of King *Agis* was; by what Means, and by what Aſſiſtance he began and purſued his Deſigns. *Xenares* at firſt willingly complied with his Requeſt, and told him the whole Story, with all the particular Circumſtances of the Actions. But when he obſerved *Cleomenes* to be extremely affected at the Relation, and more than ordinarily moved at *Agis*'s new Model of the Government, and begging a Repetition of the Story, he at firſt ſeverely chid him, told him he was frantick, and at laſt left off all ſort of Familiarity and Converſation with him, yet he never told any Man the Cauſe of their Diſagreement, but would only ſay, *Cleomenes knew very well.* *Cleomenes* finding *Xenares* averſe to his Deſigns, and thinking all Others to be of the ſame Opinion, conſulted with None, but contrived the whole Buſineſs by Himſelf. And conſidering that it would be eaſier to bring about an Alteration when the City was at War, than when in Peace, he engaged the Commonwealth in a Quarrel with the *Achæans*, who had given them fair Occaſions to complain: For *Aratus*, a Man of the greateſt Power amongſt all the *Achæans*, deſigned from the very beginning to bring all the *Peloponneſians* into one common Body. And to effect This, he undertook many Expeditions, and ran through a long courſe of Policy; for he thought This the only means to make them an equal Match for their foreign Enemies: All the reſt agreed to his Propoſals; only the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Elæans*, and as many of the *Arcadians* as inclined to the *Spartan* Intereſt, refuſed. Therefore as ſoon as *Leonidas* was dead, he fell upon the *Arcadians*, and waſted Thoſe eſpecially who bordered on *Achaia*; by this means deſigning to try the Inclinations of the *Spartans*, and deſpiſing *Cleo-*

*menes* as a Youth, and of no Experience in Affairs of State or War. Upon This the *Ephori* ſent *Cleomenes* to ſurpriſe the *Athenæum* (dedicated to *Minerva*) near *Belbina*, which is a Paſs of *Laconia*, and was then under the Juriſdiction of the *Megalopolitans*: *Cleomenes* poſſeſt himſelf of the Place, and fortified it; at which Action *Aratus* ſhewed no publick Reſentment, but marched by Night to ſurpriſe *Tegea* and *Orchomenium*. The Deſign failed; for Thoſe who were to betray the Cities into his Hands, were ſeized with a Panick, and deſpaired of Succeſs; ſo *Aratus* retreated, imagining that his Deſign had been undiſcovered: But *Cleomenes* wrote a jeering Letter to him, and deſired to know, as from a Friend, *to what Place he had marched his Army the Night before?* and *Aratus* anſwering, *That having underſtood his Deſign to fortify* Belbina, *he made a Motion with an Intent to oppoſe him*: *Cleomenes* returned, *That he believed it, but deſired him to give him an Account, if it ſtood with his Convenience, why he carried thoſe Torches and Ladders with him?*

*Aratus* laughing at the Jeer, and asking what manner of Youth this was; *Democrites*, a *Spartan* Exile, replied, *If you have any Deſigns upon the* Lacedæmonians, *begin before this young Eagle's Talons are grown.* Preſently after This, *Cleomenes* being in *Arcadia* with a few Horſe, and three hundred Foot, the *Ephori* fearing to engage in the War, commanded him home; but upon his Retreat, *Aratus* taking *Caphuæ*, they ordered him to take the Field again. In this Expedition he took *Methudrium*, and ſpoiled the Country of the *Argives*. The *Achaians*, to ſtop his Victory, and ſecure their Friends, ſent two thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe againſt him, under the command of *Ariſtomachus*. *Cleomenes* faced them at *Palantium*, and offered Battle: But *Aratus* being daſhed at his Bravery, would not ſuffer the General to engage, but retreated, being curſed by the *Achæans*, and hooted at, and ſcorned by the *Spartans*, who were not above five thouſand, for Coward. *Cleomenes*, encouraged by this Succeſs, began

to vaunt among the Citizens a Sentence of one of their Ancient Kings, who ſaid, *The* Spartans *ſeldom enquired How many their Enemies were, but Where they were.* After This, marching to the Aſſiſtance of the *Eleans*, upon whom the *Achaians* warred, and about *Lycæum* falling upon the Enemy in their Retreat, he routed their whole Army, taking a great Number of Captives, and leaving many dead upon the Place; ſo that it was commonly reported amongſt the *Greeks* that *Aratus* was ſlain. But *Aratus* making the beſt Advantage of the Opportunity, preſently after the Defeat, marched to *Mantinæa*, and before any Body ſuſpected it, took the City, and put a new Garriſon into it. Upon this, the *Lacedæmonians* being quite diſcouraged, and oppoſing *Cleomenes*'s Deſign of carrying on the War, he was eager to ſend for *Archidamus*, *Agis*'s Brother, from *Meſena*, for He of the other Family had a right to the Kingdom; and beſide, *Cleomenes* thought that the Power of the *Ephori* would be abated, when the Kingly State was filled up, and equally poiſed between the two Families. But Thoſe who were concerned in the Murder of *Agis* underſtanding the Deſign, and fearing that upon *Archidamus*'s Return they ſhould be called to an Account, marched out privately to watch his Approach, and accompanied him into the City, where he was no ſooner arrived, but they murdered him; whether it was without the Privity of *Cleomenes*, as *Phylarchus* has written, or with his Conſent, which was forced from him by the Importunity of his Friends, to whoſe Suſpicion and Jealouſy he had abandoned that unhappy Prince, is uncertain; but in Effect the whole Blame fell on Them, who, if He was conſenting, had forced him to it.

However *Cleomenes*, perſiſting ſtill in the Reſolution of new modelling the State, prevailed upon the *Ephori* by the Dint of Money to put him at the Head of an Army, and won over many others by means of his Mother *Crateſiclea*, who ſpared no Coſt, and was very zealous to promote the ſame Intereſt; and though of herſelf ſhe had no Inclination to marry, yet for her

Son's ſake, ſhe wedded one of the chiefeſt Citizens for Wealth and Power. *Cleomenes* marching forth with the Army now under his Command, took *Leuctra*, a Place belonging to *Megalopolis*; and the *Achæans* quickly facing him with a good Body of Men commanded by *Aratus*, in a Battle under the very Walls of the City, ſome part of his Army was routed. But *Aratus* commanding the *Achæans* not to paſs a deep Hollow, and ſtopping the Purſuit, *Lyſiadas*, the *Megalopolitan*, fretting at the Orders, and encouraging the Horſe which he led, and purſuing the routed Enemy, fell into a Place full of Vines, Hedges, and Ditches; and being forced to break his Ranks, was put into a great Diſorder. *Cleomenes* obſerving the Advantage, commanded the *Tarentines* and *Cretans* to engage him, by Whom, after a brave Diſpute, he was routed and ſlain. The *Lacedæmonians* thus encouraged, with a great Shout fell upon the *Achæans*, and routed their whole Army. Of the Slain, which were very many, Some *Cleomenes* delivered upon Articles, but the Body of *Lyſiadas* he commanded to be brought to Him, and then putting on it a purple Robe, and a Crown upon its Head, ſent a Convoy with it to the Gates of *Megalopolis*. This *Lyſiadas* was the Man who reſigned his Crown, reſtored Liberty to the Citizens, and joined the City to the *Achæan* Intereſt. *Cleomenes* being very much raiſed by this Succeſs, and perſuaded, that if Matters were wholly at his Diſpoſal, he ſhould quickly be too hard for the *Achæans*; repreſented to *Megiſtones*, his Mother's Husband, That it was expedient for the State to ſhake off the Power of the *Ephori*, and to put all their Wealth into one common Stock for the whole Body; that *Sparta*, being reſtored to its old Equality, might be raiſed up to be Miſtreſs of all *Greece*. *Megiſtones* liked the Deſign, and engaged Two or Three more of his Friends. About that time one of the *Ephori* ſleeping in *Paſiphae*'s Temple, dreamed a very ſurpriſing Dream; for he thought that in the Place where the *Ephori* uſed to ſit, and hear Cauſes, he ſaw but one Chair, and that the Four others were

were removed, and whilſt he was ſurpriſed at the Change, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, ſaying, *This is beſt for* Sparta. The Perſon telling *Cleomenes* his Dream, he was a little troubled at firſt, fearing that he uſed This as a Trick to ſift him, upon ſome Suſpicion of his Deſign; but when he was ſatisfied that the Relator ſpoke Truth, he took Heart again; and taking with him Thoſe who he thought would be againſt his Model, he took *Eræa* and *Alcæa*, two Cities of the *Achæans*, furniſhed *Orchomenium* with Proviſions, beſieged *Mantinæa*; and with long Marches ſo haraſſed the *Lacedæmonians*, that Many of them deſired to be left in *Arcadia*; and he agreed to their Requeſt. With the Mercenaries he marched to *Sparta*, and by the way communicated his Deſign to Thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his purpoſe, and marched ſlowly, that he might catch the *Ephori* at Supper. When he was come near the City, he ſent *Euryclidas* to the *Suſſitium*, the Eating-place of the *Ephori*, under pretence of carrying ſome Meſſage from Him relating to the Army: *Threicion*, *Phœbis*, and Two other young Men, who had been educated with *Cleomenes*, called at *Sparta Samothracians*, followed at the Head of a ſmall Party: And whilſt *Euryclidas* was delivering his Meſſage to the *Ephori*, they ran upon them with their drawn Swords, and ſlew them. *Ageſilaus*, as ſoon as he was run through, fell, and lay as dead; but in a little time he roſe, ſilently conveyed himſelf out of the Room, and crept undiſcovered into a little Houſe, which was the Temple of *Fear*, and which was always uſed to be ſhut, but was then by chance open; being got in, he ſhut the Door, and lay cloſe: The other Four were killed, and above Ten more who came to their Aſſiſtance; to Thoſe who were quiet, they did no harm, ſtopped none that fled the City, and ſpared *Ageſilaus*, who came out of the Temple the next Day. The *Lacedæmonians* have not only Temples dedicated to *Fear*, but alſo to *Death*, *Laughter*, and the other Paſſions: Now they worſhip *Fear*, not as they do thoſe Deities which they dread,

eſteeming it hurtful, but eſteeming *Fear* as the ſtrongeſt Cement of Society; and therefore *Ariſtotle* tells us that the *Ephori*, when they enter'd upon their Government, made Proclamation to the People, That they ſhould ſhave their Whiskers, and be obedient to the Laws, that they might not be forced to be ſevere; inforcing this trivial Injunction (in my Opinion) to accuſtom their Youth to Obedience even in the ſmalleſt Matters. And it ſeems to Me that they dignified with the Name of Fortitude, not an Exemption from Fear, but on the contrary the Fear of Reproach, and a Dread of Infamy. For They who ſtand moſt in Fear of the Law, act with the greateſt Valour and Reſolution againſt their Enemies, and They who are the moſt tender of their Reputation, are the leaſt ſparing of Themſelves in times of Danger. Therefore He ſpoke well who ſaid That *where there is Fear there likewiſe is Shame.* And This was well underſtood by *Homer*, when he makes *Helen* ſay to her Father-in-law *Priamus*,

*Great Sir, at once I'm ſeiz'd with Fear and Shame.*

And when in another place, ſpeaking of the *Græcian* Troops, he ſaith

*In ſilence fearing thoſe that bore the Sway.*

For it is very commonly ſeen, that Men reverence Thoſe whom they Fear; and therefore the *Lacedæmonians* placed the Temple of *Fear* by the *Suſſitium* of the *Ephori*, by which they would have it ſignified that they looked on their Power equal even to That of the Monarchy.

The next Day *Cleomenes* Proſcribed eighty of the Citizens, whom he thought neceſſary to Baniſh, and removed all the Seats of the *Ephori* except One, in which He Himſelf deſigned to ſit, and hear Cauſes; and calling the Citizens together, he made an Apology for his Proceedings, ſaying, *That the Government, as it was framed by* Lycurgus, *was compoſed of the Kings and the Senate,*

*Senate, and that this Model of Government had continued a long time, and needed no other ſort of Magiſtrates to give it Perfection. But afterward, in the long War with the* Meſſenians, *when the Kings being to command the Armies, had no time to attend Civil Cauſes, they choſe Some of their Friends, and left Them to determine the Suits of the Citizens in their ſtead. Theſe were called* Ephori, *and at firſt behaved themſelves as Servants to the Kings; but afterwards, by degrees, they appropriated the Power to Themſelves, and erected a diſtinct ſort of Magiſtracy. An Evidence of the Truth of This, may be taken from the uſual Behaviour of the Kings, who upon the firſt and ſecond Meſſage of the* Ephori, *refuſe to go, but upon the third readily attend them: And* Afteropus, *the Firſt that raiſed the* Ephori *to that height of Power, was not* Ephore *'till many Years after their Inſtitution; therefore whilſt they modeſtly contained themſelves within their own proper Sphere, it was better to bear with them than to make a Diſturbance. But that an upſtart, introduced Power, ſhould ſo far deſtroy the old Model of Government, as to Baniſh ſome Kings, Murder Others without hearing their Defence, and threaten Thoſe who deſired to ſee the beſt and moſt Divine Conſtitution reſtored in* Sparta, *was unſufferable. Therefore if it had been poſſible for him, without Bloodſhed, to have freed* Lacedæmon *from thoſe foreign Plagues, Luxury, Vanity, Debts, and Uſury; and from thoſe more ancient Evils, Poverty and Riches, he ſhould have thought himſelf the happieſt King in the World; having, like an expert Phyſician, cured the Diſeaſes of his Country without Pain. But now in this Neceſſity,* Lycurgus's *Example favoured his Proceedings; who being neither King, nor Magiſtrate, but a private Man, and aiming at the Kingdom, came armed into the Market-place, inſomuch that the King* Carilaus *fled for fear to the Altar: But He being a good Man, and a Lover of his Country, readily conſented to* Lycurgus's *Project, and admitted an Alteration in the State. Thus, by his own Actions,* Lycurgus *ſhowed, That it was difficult to correct the Government without Force and Fear;*

*Fear; in uſing which, he ſaid, he would be ſo moderate, as never to deſire their Aſſiſtance; but either to terrify or ruin the Enemies of* Sparta's *Happineſs and Safety. He commanded that all the Land ſhould be left in common, and private Claims laid aſide: That Debtors ſhould be diſcharged of their Debts, and a ſtrict Search made, Who were Foreigners, and Who not: That the true* Spartans, *recovering their Courage, might defend the City with their Arms, and that they might no longer ſee* Laconia, *for want of a ſufficient Number to ſecure it, waſted by the* Ætolians *and* Illyrians.

When he had thus delivered himſelf to the People, he was the Firſt who brought his whole Subſtance into the Publick Stock. His Father-in-law *Megiſtones*, and all his Friends, did the ſame, and the reſt of the Citizens followed the Example. When the Land came to be divided, he aſſigned a Share even to Thoſe he had baniſhed, and promiſed to reſtore them as ſoon as he had brought things to ſome Settlement and Tranquillity. As ſoon as he had compleated the common Number of Citizens out of the beſt and moſt agreeable of the neighbouring Inhabitants, he raiſed a Body of four thouſand Foot; and inſtead of their Javelins taught them the uſe of the two-handed Pike, and to carry their Shields by a String faſtned round their Arms, and not by a Handle, as before. After This, he began to conſult about the exerciſing and breeding of the Youth, (many Particulars of which, *Sphærus*, being then at *Sparta*, directed) and in a ſhort-time the Schools of Exerciſe and their Refectories recovered their ancient Decency and Order, moſt of the Citizens voluntarily applying themſelves to that Generous and *Laconick* Way of Living; whilſt the Reſt complied with it out of Neceſſity. And to the end the Name of Monarch might give no Jealouſy to the People, he made *Eucleidas*, his Brother, Partner in the Throne; and this was the firſt time that *Sparta* had two Kings of the ſame Family. Then underſtanding that the *Achæans*, and *Aratus*, imagined that this Change had diſturbed and ſhaken his Affairs,

and

and that he would not venture out of *Sparta*, and leave the City now unſettled by ſo great an Alteration, he thought it great and ſerviceable to his Deſigns, to convince his Enemies of the Strength and Diſpoſition of his Army: And therefore making an Incurſion into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, he waſted the Country very much, and got a conſiderable Booty. And at laſt having ſeized on a Company of Comedians as they were on the Road from *Meſſena*, he built a Stage even in the Territories of the Enemy, ſettled a Reward of forty *Minæ*, and was himſelf a Spectator of their Performances for a whole day together. Not that he was fond of ſuch Entertainments, or took any Delight in them, but to inſult over his Enemies, and to let them ſee by this piece of Contempt how ſecure he thought himſelf of his Conqueſt. For of all the *Græcian* and Royal Armies, That of *Sparta* alone was free from the Attendance of Stage-Players, Juglers, Singers, and Dancers of both Sexes. His Camp was clear of all ſorts of Diſſoluteneſs, Intemperance, Buffoonery, and Parties of Debauch and Wantonneſs. The young Men paſſed the greateſt part of their time in their Exerciſes, and the more aged in forming and inſtructing them. And when they were at leiſure their chiefeſt Diverſions lay in genteel and handſom Repartees, and in pelting one another with ſome ſmart facetious Flights of Wit, the Advantages of which have been ſufficiently made appear in the Life of *Lycurgus*. He inſtructed All by his Example, and was Himſelf a living Pattern of Temperance in the Eyes of every Man; his Courſe of Living being neither more ſtately, nor more expenſive, than That of the meaneſt Citizen. And This was of great Advantage to him in the forwarding of his Affairs in *Greece*: For Men when they waited upon other Kings, did not ſo much admire their Wealth, coſtly Furniture, and numerous Attendance, as they hated their Pride and State, their Difficulty of Acceſs, and ſcornful imperious Carriage towards Thoſe who had any Buſineſs to negotiate with them. Whereas in the Court of *Cleo-*

*menes*,

*menes*, who was a King indeed, and juſtly deſerved that Auguſt Title, when they ſaw no Purple, no Robes of State upon him, no Chairs and Couches about him for his eaſe; and that he did not receive Petitions, and return written Anſwers after a long delay, by Meſſengers, or Waiters, but that he roſe and came forward to meet Thoſe that came to wait upon him, ſtaid, talked freely and graciouſly with All that had Buſineſs with him, they were extremely taken, won to his Service, and profeſſed that He alone was the true Son of *Hercules*. His conſtant Table was with three Beds only, very frugal, and after the *Laconick* manner; and when he entertained Ambaſſadors, or Strangers, two more Beds were added, and a little better Dinner provided by his Servants; but no high Sauces, no Dainties, only the Diſhes were larger, and the Wine more plentiful: For he reproved one of his Friends for entertaining ſome Strangers with nothing but Pulſe, and black Broth, ſuch Diet as they uſually had in their *Phiditia*; ſaying, *That upon ſuch Occaſions, and when they treat Strangers, it was not requiſite to be too exact* Laconians. After Supper, a Stand was brought in, with a Braſs Veſſel full of Wine, two Silver Pots, which held almoſt a Quart apiece, a few ſilver Cups, out of which He that pleaſed might drink, but no Liquor was forced on any of the Gueſts. There was no Muſick, nor was any required where the Converſation was ſo agreeable, for he entertained the Company, ſometimes by asking Queſtions, ſometimes by telling agreeable and inſtructive Stories. His moſt grave and ſerious Diſcourſes were always ſeaſoned with ſome witty Turns, and when he had a mind to be facetious and diverting, he knew how to be ſo without any wanton Flight, or the leaſt Tincture of Indecency: For he thought thoſe ways of catching Men by Gifts and Preſents, which other Kings uſe, to be mean and inartificial; and it ſeemed to Him to be the moſt glorious Method, and moſt ſuitable to a King, to win the Affections of Thoſe that came near him, by pleaſant Diſcourſe, and unaffected Converſation: For a Friend

Friend and Mercenary differ only in This, That the One is gained by an agreeable Carriage, and inoffenſive Converſation, and the Other is to be purchaſed only by Intereſt. The *Mantineans* were the firſt that made uſe of his Aſſiſtance; for falling by Night upon the Garriſon placed over them by the *Achæns* they drove them out of the City, and put themſelves under his Protection: He reſtored them their Polity and Laws, and the ſame Day marched to *Tegea*: and a little while after, fetching a Compaſs through *Arcadia*, he made a Deſcent upon *Pheræ* in *Achaia*, intending to force *Aratus* to a Battle, or bring him into Diſrepute, for refuſing to engage, and ſuffering Him to waſte the Country. *Hyperbatas* at that time commanded the Army, but *Aratus* had all the Power amongſt the *Achæans*. The *Achæans* marching forth with their whole Strength, and incamping in *Dumæa*, about *Hecatombæum*, *Cleomenes* came up, and thinking it not adviſeable to pitch between *Dumæa*, a City of the Enemies, and the Camp of the *Achæans*, he boldly dared the *Achæans*, forced them to a Battle, and routing the *Phalanx*, ſlew a great many in Fight, and took many Priſoners; thence marching to *Lagon*, and driving out the *Achæan* Garriſon, he reſtored the City to the *Eleans*. The Affairs of the *Achæans* being in this deſperate Condition, *Aratus*, who was wont to continue Captain-General for two Years together, refuſed the Command for this Year, though they intreated and urged him to accept it: This indeed was ill done by him to quit his Poſt in that Extremity, and put Another at the Helm when the Storm was at the higheſt, and his Country in greater Danger than ever.

The very firſt Conditions propoſed by *Cleomenes* to the *Achæans* were fair, and reaſonable enough, and afterwards he acquainted them by his Ambaſſadors that he inſiſted only upon having the Command of *Greece* ſettled upon Him, and that in other Matters he would not differ with them, but would reſtore them their Priſoners, and the Places he had taken from them. The *Achæans* were

were willing to come to an Agreement upon thoſe Terms, and invited *Cleomenes* to *Lerna*, where an Aſſembly was to be held; but it happened that *Cleomenes*, having heated himſelf with marching too haſtily, drank a large Draught of cold Water when it was improper for him; This threw him into a Flux, which was attended with the Loſs of his Speech. Therefore being unable to continue his March, he ſent the chiefeſt of the Captives to the *Achæans*, and putting off the Meeting for ſome time, retired to *Lacedæmon*. This ruined the Affairs of *Greece*, which was juſt then ready to recover itſelf out of its Diſaſters, and get the better of the Inſolence and Rapaciouſneſs of the *Macedonians*: For *Aratus*, whether fearing or diſtruſting *Cleomenes*, or envying his unlooked-for Succeſs, or thinking it a Diſgrace for Him who had commanded Thirty-three Years, to have a young Man ſucceed to all his Glory and his Power, and be Head of that Government which he had been raiſing and ſettling ſo many Years; he firſt endeavoured to keep the *Achæans* from cloſing with *Cleomenes*; but when they would not hearken to him, fearing *Cleomenes*'s daring Spirit, and thinking the *Lacedæmonians* Propoſals to be very reaſonable, who deſigned only to reduce *Peloponneſus* to its old Model, he took his laſt Refuge in an Action which was unbecoming any of the *Greeks*, moſt diſhonourable to Him, and moſt unworthy his former Exploits and Bravery: For he called *Antigonus* into *Greece*, and filled *Peloponneſus* with *Macedonians*, whom He himſelf, when a Youth, had driven out of it, by forcing from them the Citadel of *Corinth*, and had declared himſelf an Enemy to all the Kings, eſpecially to *Antigonus*, whom he loaded with a thouſand Calumnies, as appears from the Writings he has left behind him. In thoſe Writings he magnifies his Sufferings, and the Services he did the *Athenians* in freeing their City from the Garriſon placed in it by the *Macedonians*; and yet after all This He Himſelf calls thoſe very *Macedonians* into his own Country, invites them into his own Houſe, leads them up even into the Womens Apart-

ment,

ment, and All for no other Reaſon but becauſe he could not bear that a Deſcendant of *Hercules*, a King of *Sparta*, a Prince who finding the Government of his Country in the utmoſt Diſorder, like an Inſtrument quite out of Tune, laboured to re-eſtabliſh it, and reſtore it to the grave *Doric* Tone invented by *Lycurgus*, ſhould be ſtiled Captain-General of the *Triccæans* and *Sicyonians*. To avoid the coarſe Cake, and ſhort Cloke of the *Spartans*, and That which he thought the utmoſt Grievance, and was his greateſt Charge againſt *Cleomenes*, the Extirpation of Wealth, and Relief of Poverty, he baſely ſubjected himſelf, together with *Achæa*, to the Diadem and Purple, to the imperious Commands of the *Macedonians*, and their *Satrapæ*. That he might not ſeem to be under *Cleomenes*, he ſacrificed the *Antigoneia*, (Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus*) and ſung *Pæans* Himſelf with a Garland on his Head, to the Honour of a rotten, conſumptive *Macedonian*.

I write This not out of any Deſign to diſgrace *Aratus* (for in many things he ſhewed himſelf vigorous for the *Græcian* Intereſt, and a great Man) but out of Pity to the weakneſs of human Nature; which even in ſuch a Perſon ſo excellent, and ſo many ways diſpoſed to Virtue, cannot attain to a State perfect, and irreprehenſible. The *Achæans* meeting again at *Argos*, and *Cleomenes* deſcending from *Tegea*, there were great Hopes that all Differences would be compoſed. But *Aratus*, (*Antigonus*, and He, having already agreed upon the chief Articles of their League) fearing that *Cleomenes* would carry all before him, and either win, or force the Multitude to comply with his Demands, propoſed, *That he ſhould come alone to the Town, and that for the Safety of his Perſon three hundred Hoſtages ſhould be put into his Hands; but in Caſe he did not approve of that Propoſition he might approach with his Troops to the Place of Exerciſe, called* Cillarabion, *which ſtood without the City, and treat there.*

*Cleomenes* hearing This, ſaid, *he was unjuſtly dealt with; for they ought to have told him ſo plainly at firſt, and not now he was come even to their Doors ſhow their*

*Jealouſy, and deny him Admiſſion.* At the ſame time he wrote a long Letter to the *Achæans* upon the ſame ſubject, the greateſt part of which contained an Accuſation againſt *Aratus*. This was anſwered on the other hand by *Aratus*, who laid a heavy Charge againſt Him in an Aſſembly of the People.

*Cleomenes* therefore diſlodged forthwith, and ſent a Trumpeter to denounce War againſt the *Achæans*, not to *Argos*, but to *Ægium*, as *Aratus* writes, that He might not have timely Notice, but be ſurpriſed by him before they could make Proviſion for their Defence.

Thus the whole League of the *Achæans* was put into a Ferment, moſt of the Towns being ready to Revolt, and break the Union; becauſe on the one ſide the People had been made to hope for a Diviſion of the Lands, and a diſcharge of their Debts; and on the Other, the Nobility grew weary of *Aratus*'s Power, and were almoſt all of them provoked againſt him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*. Encouraged by theſe Miſunderſtandings, *Cleomenes* invaded *Achæa*; where he firſt took *Pellene* by Surpriſe, and beat out the *Achæan* Garriſon; afterwards he made himſelf Maſter of *Pheneon* and *Pentelæon*.

Now the *Achæans* ſuſpecting that ſome treacherous Deſigns were carrying on at *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, ſent their Horſe and Mercenaries out of *Argos* for the Preſervation of thoſe Cities, whilſt They Themſelves went to celebrate the *Nemean* Games at *Argos*. *Cleomenes* advertiſed of all This, and hoping (as it afterward fell out) that upon an unexpected Advance to the City, now buſied in the Solemnity of the Games, and thronged with numerous Spectators, he ſhould raiſe a conſiderable Terror and Confuſion amongſt them; he marched with his Army by Night to the Walls, and taking the Quarter of the Town called *Aſpis*, which lies above the Theatre, a Place well fortified, and hard to be approached, he ſo terrified them, that not a Man of them offered to reſiſt, but agreed to accept a Garriſon, gave twenty

of their Citizens for Hoſtages, conſented to a Treaty of Alliance with the *Lacedæmonians*, and conferred the Chief Command on *Cleomenes*. This Action conſiderably increaſed his Reputation and his Power; for the ancient *Spartan* Kings, though they many ways endeavoured to effect it, could never bring *Argos* to be ſteadfaſtly and ſincerely Theirs. And *Pyrrhus*, a moſt experienced Captain, and brave Soldier, though he entered the City by force, could not keep Poſſeſſion, but was ſlain Himſelf with a conſiderable part of his Army. Therefore they admired this Diſpatch and Contrivance of *Cleomenes*: and They who before derided him, for ſaying that he imitated *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, in releaſing the People from their Debts, and in equally dividing the Wealth of the Citizens, were now perſuaded that He was the ſole Cauſe of this ſudden Change in the Courage and Conduct of the *Spartans*: For whereas they were juſt before ſo very low in the World, and ſo unable to ſecure their Own, that the *Ætolians* invading *Laconia* carried off fifty thouſand Priſoners at one time; upon which one of the *Spartan* Elders ſaid, *The Enemy had done them a great Kindneſs, in taking ſuch a heavy Charge off their Hands*; they had now no ſooner reſtored their antient Cuſtoms, and primitive Inſtitution, but as if *Lycurgus* was among them, and at the Head of their Affairs, they gave ſignal Proofs of their extraordinary Valour, paid a perfect Obedience to their Superiors, and by that Means gave *Sparta* the Preeminence in *Greece*, and recovered all *Peloponneſus*.

*Argos* being thus taken, *Cleone* and *Phlius* immediately ſurrendred to *Cleomenes*. *Aratus*, who was then at *Corinth*, where he buſied himſelf in ſearching after ſuch as were ſuſpected to be in the Intereſt of the *Lacedæmonians*, had no ſooner heard of theſe Tranſactions, but he was extremely alarmed; and perceiving the City of *Corinth* inclined to *Cleomenes*, and the *Achæans* in haſte to return home, he ſummoned all the Citizens to an Aſſembly in the Town Hall, and in the mean time, without being perceived, ſtole away to the Gate, where a Horſe was provided for him, and fled to *Sicyon*.

There was a Conteſt among the *Corinthians* Who ſhould be the Firſt to carry this News to *Cleomenes*, and they made ſuch haſte that, as *Aratus* tells us, they killed all their Horſes. He adds, that *Cleomenes* was very angry with the *Corinthians* for letting *Aratus* eſcape: And that *Megiſtones* came from *Cleomenes* to him, deſiring him to deliver up the Caſtle at *Corinth*, which was then Garriſoned by the *Achæans*, and offered him a conſiderable Sum of Money for ſo doing; and that he anſwered, *Matters were not now in His Power, but He in Theirs.* Thus *Aratus* himſelf writes. *Cleomenes* marching from *Argos*, and taking in the *Trœzenians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Hermioneans*, came to *Corinth*, and blocked up the Caſtle, which the *Achæans* would not ſurrender; and ſending for *Aratus*'s Friends and Stewards, committed his Houſe and Eſtate to their Care and Management; and ſent *Tritymallus* the *Meſſenian* to him a ſecond time, deſiring that the Caſtle might be equally Garriſoned by the *Spartans* and *Achæans*, and promiſing to *Aratus* Himſelf double the Penſion that he received from King *Ptolemy*: But *Aratus* refuſing the Conditions, and ſending his own Son with other Hoſtages to *Antigonus*, and perſuading the *Achæans* to make a Decree for delivering the Caſtle into *Antigonus*'s Hands, *Cleomenes* invaded the Territory of the *Sicyonians*, and by a Decree of the *Corinthians*, ſeized on all *Aratus*'s Eſtate. In the mean time *Antigonus*, with a great Army, paſſed Mount *Gerania*, and *Cleomenes* thought it more adviſable not to defend the *Iſthmus*, but to fortify and garriſon the Paſſes in the *Onian* Mountains, and by long Sieges and Encounters to weary the *Macedonians*, than to venture a ſet Battle againſt Troops ſo warlike and experienced as were Thoſe of *Antigonus*. By this Conduct he reduced *Antigonus* to the utmoſt Extremity; for he had not brought Victuals ſufficient for his Army; nor was it eaſy to force a way through, whilſt *Cleomenes* guarded the Paſſes. However he attempted one Night to get into *Peloponneſus* by the Haven of *Lechæum*, but was repulſed with a conſiderable Loſs.

This

This extremely enlivened *Cleomenes*'s Courage, and That of his Troops, who were ſo exalted with their Victory that they fell to their Supper with great Alacrity, and good Appetites. On the other hand *Antigonus* was in the utmoſt Deſpair, foraſmuch as the Situation he found himſelf in left him no choice, but forced him upon Extremes the moſt difficult and hazardous in the Execution. For he had determined in Himſelf to march to the Promontory of *Heræa*, and tranſport his Army in Boats from thence to *Sicyon*, which would take up a great deal of Time, and be very chargeable. Whilſt he was under this Perplexity, that very Evening ſome of *Aratus*'s Friends came from *Argos* by Sea, and invited him to return, for that the *Argives* had revolted from *Cleomenes*. And that the Perſon who had excited them to it was *Ariſtotle*, who found it no hard Taſk to perſuade the common People; for they were All angry with *Cleomenes* for not releaſing them from their Debts as they expected. Upon this Advertiſement, *Aratus*, with Fifteen Hundred of *Antigonus*'s Soldiers, ſailed to *Epidaurus*; but *Ariſtotle* not ſtaying for his coming, drew out the Citizens, and fought againſt the Garriſon of the Caſtle, and *Timoxenus* with the *Achæans* from *Sicyon* came to his Aſſiſtance. *Cleomenes* heard the News about the ſecond Watch of the Night, and ſending for *Megiſtones* angrily commanded him to go and ſet things right at *Argos*. This *Megiſtones* was the Man who had paſſed his Word for the *Argives* Loyalty, and perſuaded him not to baniſh Thoſe, of Whom he had juſt reaſon to be jealous. Having therefore immediately detached him with a Party of two thouſand Soldiers, He continued to keep a watchful Eye upon *Antigonus*, and encourage the *Corinthians*, pretending that there was no great matter in the Stirs at *Argos*, but only a trivial diſturbance raiſed by a few inconſiderable Perſons, who would with little or no trouble be ſuppreſſed. But when *Megiſtones*, entering *Argos*, was ſlain, and the *Spartan* Garriſon could ſcarce hold out, and frequent Meſſengers came to *Cleomenes* for Succours, He then began to fear leſt the Ene-

my having taken *Argos*, ſhould ſhut up the Paſſes, and ſecurely waſte *Laconia*, and beſiege *Sparta* itſelf, which he had left without Forces: This made him raiſe his Camp, and march with his whole Army from *Corinth*. He was no ſooner gone but *Antigonus* entered the City, and immediately placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it. In the mean time *Cleomenes* having ſtrengthened his Army by the Junction of ſeveral Parties, which lay ſcattered up and down in his March, came up, and attempted to take *Argos* by Aſſault, but failing in that Enterpriſe he broke open the Vaults which lay under that Quarter of the City called *Aſpis*, forced his Entrance that way, and joined the Troops he had placed there in Garriſon, which ſtill held out againſt the *Achæans*. After This he took ſome other Parts of the City by Aſſault, and drove the Enemy out of the Streets by the Aſſiſtance of the *Cretan* Archers, whom he ordered to attack them. But when he ſaw *Antigonus* with his *Phalanx* deſcending from the Mountains into the Plain, and the Horſe on all ſides entering the City, he thought it impoſſible to maintain his Poſt, and therefore having ſounded a Retreat he retired ſafe with all his Men along the Walls of the City, after he had performed many glorious Exploits in a ſhort time, and in one March made himſelf Maſter of almoſt all *Peloponneſus*. And yet all theſe important Conqueſts were loſt back in leſs time than he had obtained them. For ſome of his Allies immediately forſook him, and the reſt not long after put themſelves under the Protection of *Antigonus*. His Army thus defeated, as he was leading back the Relicks of his Forces, Some from *Lacedæmon* met him in the Evening at *Tegea*, and brought him News of as great a Misfortune as that which he had lately ſuffered, and that was the Death of his Conſort, whom he doted on ſo much, that when he was moſt proſperous, he would every now and then make a ſtep to *Sparta*, to viſit his beloved *Ægiatis*.

This News afflicted him extremely, and he grieved, as a young Man would do for the loſs of a very beautiful and

nd excellent Wife; yet his Paſſion did not debaſe the Greatneſs of his Mind, but keeping his uſual Voice, his Countenance, and his Habit, he gave neceſſary Orders to his Captains, and took care to ſecure the *Tegeans*. The next Day he retired to *Sparta*, and having at home with his Mother and Children bewail'd the loſs, and finiſhed his Mourning, he preſently appeared about the publick Affairs of the State. Now *Ptolemy*, the King of *Ægypt*, promiſed him Aſſiſtance, but demanded his Mother and Children for Hoſtages: He was for ſome conſiderable time aſhamed to diſcover This to his Mother, and tho' he often went to her on purpoſe, and was juſt upon the Point of breaking it to her, yet he ſtill refrained, and kept it to Himſelf; ſo that ſhe began to ſuſpect ſomewhat, and aſked his Friends, Whether *Cleomenes* had ſomewhat to ſay to Her, which he was afraid to ſpeak? At laſt *Cleomenes* venturing to tell her, ſhe laughed heartily, and ſaid, *Was This the thing that you had often a mind to tell me, and was afraid? Why do not you put me on Ship-board, and ſend this Carcaſe where it may be moſt ſerviceable to* Sparta, *before Age waſtes it unprofitably here?* Therefore all things being provided for the Voyage, they went to *Tænarus* on Foot, and the Army waited on them. *Crateſiclea*, when ſhe was ready to go on Board, took *Cleomenes* aſide into *Neptune*'s Temple, where, with Tears in her Eyes, ſhe kiſſed and embraced him, and finding him extremely dejected and diſcompoſed, *Come*, ſaid ſhe, *King of* Sparta, *let us dry up our Tears whilſt we are here alone in the Temple, that when we go out no Tokens of Grief may be diſcovered, no Weakneſs appear unworthy the Honour and Dignity of* Sparta; *for That alone is in our Power; as for the Event of things, That is in the Hands of the Deity.* Having thus ſaid, and compoſed her Countenance, ſhe went to the Ship with her little Grandſon, and bad the Pilot put preſently out to Sea. When ſhe came to *Ægypt*, and underſtood that *Ptolemy* entertained Propoſals and Overtures of Peace from *Antigonus*, and that *Cleomenes*, though the *Achæans* invited and urged him to an Agree-

ment,

ment, was afraid, for her ſake, to come to Any, without *Ptolemy*'s Conſent, ſhe wrote to him, adviſing him *to do That which was moſt becoming and moſt profitable for* Sparta, *and not for the ſake of an old Woman and a little Child be always in fear of* Ptolemy; this Character ſhe maintained in her greateſt Misfortunes. *Antigonus* having taken *Tegea*, and plundered *Orchomenum* and *Mantinæa*, *Cleomenes* was ſhut up within the narrow Bounds of *Laconia*, and made ſuch of the *Heilots* as could pay five *Minæ*, free of *Sparta*, and by that means got together five hundred Talents; and arming two thouſand Men after the *Macedonian* Faſhion, that he might make a Body fit to oppoſe *Antigonus*'s *Leucaſpidæ* (white Shields) he undertook a very conſiderable and very ſurpriſing Enterpriſe. *Megalopolis* was at that time a City of itſelf, as great and as powerful as *Sparta*, and had the Forces of the *Achæans* and *Antigonus* incamping on its ſides; and it was chiefly the *Megalopolitans* doing, that *Antigonus* was called in to aſſiſt the *Achæans*. *Cleomenes* having a Deſign to ſnap up that City, for that Expreſſion is moſt ſuitable to an Action ſo ſudden and unexpected, ordered his Men to take five days Proviſion, and ſo marched to *Sellaſia*, as if he intended to ſpoil the Country of the *Argives*; but from thence making a Deſcent into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, and refreſhing his Army about *Rhætium*, he marched by *Helicon*, directly to the City. When he was not far off the Town, he ſent *Panteus* with two Regiments to ſurpriſe the *Meſopyrgion*, (the Quarter between the two Towers) which he underſtood to be the moſt unguarded Quarter of the *Megalopolitans* Fortifications; and followed leiſurely with the reſt of his Forces. *Panteus* not only ſurpriſed that Place, but finding a great part of the Wall without Guards, he pulled down ſome Places, and demoliſhed Others, and put All, who made any Oppoſition, and came in his way, to Death. Whilſt he was thus buſied, *Cleomenes* came up to him, and was got with his Army within the City, before the *Megalopolitans* knew of the Surpriſe: At laſt, as ſoon as it was diſcovered,

iſcovered, Some left the Town immediately, taking with them what Money they had ready: Some armed, nd engaged the Enemy; and though they were not able o beat them out, yet they gave their Citizens Time and Opportunity to retire in Safety: So that there were not bove a thouſand Perſons left in the Town, all the reſt lying with their Wives and Children, and eſcaping to *Meſſena*. A great Number even of Thoſe who had rmed and fought in Defence of the City eſcaped, ſo that ery few were taken, amongſt whom were *Lyſandridas* nd *Thearidas*, two Men of great Power and Reputaion amongſt the *Megalopolitans*; and therefore the Solliers had no ſooner ſeized them but they brought them o *Cleomenes*. *Lyſandridas*, as ſoon as he ſaw *Cleomenes* far off, cried out, *Now, King of* Sparta, *it is in your Power to render yourſelf the moſt Celebrated of Mankind, by performing an Action more illuſtrious than any of your Former*. And *Cleomenes* gueſſing at his Aim replied, *What mean You* Lyſandridas, *ſure you will not adviſe me o reſtore your City to you again? It is That which I mean, Lyſandridas* replied, *I adviſe you not to ruin ſo brave a City, but to fill it with faithful and ſtedfaſt Friends and Allies, by reſtoring the* Megalopolitans *to their Country, and thereby become the Saviour of ſo conſiderable a People. Cleomenes* pauſed a while, and then ſaid, *It is very hard to truſt ſo far in theſe matters; but with Us let Profit always yield to Glory*. Having ſaid This, he ſent the two Men to *Meſſena* with a Trumpeter from Himſelf, offering the *Megalopolitans* their City again, if they would forſake the *Achæan* Intereſt, nd be on his ſide. Though *Cleomenes* made theſe kind nd obliging Propoſals, yet *Philopœmen* would not ſuffer hem to break their League with the *Achæans*; and acuſing *Cleomenes* to the People, as if his Deſign was not o reſtore the City, but to take the Citizens too, he orced *Thearidas* and *Lyſandridas* to leave *Meſſena*.

This was That *Philopœmen* who was afterward Chief of the *Achæans*, and a Man of the greateſt Reputation mongſt the *Greeks*, as I have made it appear in his Life.

This

This News coming to *Cleomenes*, though he had before taken ſuch ſtrict Care that the City ſhould not be plundered, yet then being in a Fury, and put out of all Patience, he rifled them of all their Coin, Plate and Jewels, and ſent their Statues and Pictures unto *Sparta*; and demoliſhing a great part of the City, he marched away for fear of *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. They in the mean time never ſtirred, but were holding a Council of War at *Ægium*, and *Aratus* as ſoon as he was informed of what had happened, entered the Aſſembly, mounted the Tribunal, wept a long while holding his Robe before his Face; 'till the People ſurpriſed at his Behaviour required him to declare the Subject of his Grief, when he anſwered briefly *Megalopolis is taken and deſtroyed by* Cleomenes. Hereupon the Aſſembly ſeparated in much haſte, the *Achæans* being extremely ſurpriſed at the ſuddenneſs and greatneſs of the Loſs. *Antigonus* did all he could to haſten to their Aſſiſtance, but when he found his Army to gather very ſlowly out of their Winter-quarters, and that the Occaſion was very urgent, he ſent them Orders to remain where they were, whilſt He Himſelf marched with a conſiderable Body to *Argos*. This made the ſecond Enterpriſe of *Cleomenes* ſeem to be undertaken with a Boldneſs full of Folly and Temerity, and yet on the contrary it was, according to *Polybius*, entered upon with great Prudence and Foreſight: For knowing very well that the *Macedonians* were diſperſed into their Winter-quarters, and that *Antigonus* with only his Friends and a few Mercenaries about him lay in *Argos*; upon theſe Conſiderations he invaded the Country of the *Argives*, hoping to ſhame *Antigonus* to a Battle upon unequal Terms, or elſe if he did not dare to fight, to bring him into Diſ-repute with the *Achæans*. And This accordingly happened; for *Cleomenes* waſting, plundering, and ſpoiling the whole Country, the *Argives* vexed at the Loſs, ran in Troops to the King's Palace, and required him either to fight, or yield up the Command to the moſt Valiant. But *Antigonus*, like a prudent wary Commander, being of Opinion

Opinion that it was not ſo ſhameful a Thing to be maligned by Strangers, as to expoſe himſelf raſhly, and foregoing his preſent Safety truſt all to Fortune, reſolved not no march out, but ſtood fixed to his firſt Reſolutions, which were not to venture an Engagement. *Cleomenes* in the mean time brought his Army up to the very Walls, and having uncontrolledly ſpoiled the Country, and inſulted over his Enemies, drew off towards *Sparta*. A little while after being advertiſed that *Antigonus* deſigned for *Tegea*, and thence to make an Incurſion into *Laconia*, he immediately marched his Army a way different from That *Antigonus* had taken, appeared again early in the Morning before *Argos*, and waſted the Fields about it: The Corn he did not cut down with Reaping-hooks and Sithes, as Men uſually do, but beat it down with great Staves made like Scimetars, as if with a great deal of Contempt and wanton Scorn he ſpoiled the Fields, and waſted the Country in his March; yet when his Soldiers would have ſet *Cyllabaris*, the School of Exerciſe, on fire, he hindred the Attempt, reflecting, upon ſerious conſideration, that the Outrages committed at *Megalopolis* were the Effects of his Paſſion rather than his Wiſdom. He pretended to make ſuch little Account of, and ſo much to deſpiſe *Antigonus*, who as ſoon as he was returned to *Argos* had placed Garriſons on all the Mountains round about, that he ſent a Trumpeter to the City for the Keys of the *Heræum*, (*Juno*'s Temple) that he might ſacrifice to the Goddeſs. When he had thus expoſed *Antigonus*, and ſacrificed under the Walls of the Temple, which was kept ſhut, he marched to *Phlius*; and from thence driving out Thoſe who were garriſoned in *Ologuntum*, he marched on by *Orchomenus*, and by theſe Enterpriſes not only raiſed the Courage of his own Citizens, but made even his Enemies confeſs that he was an excellent Commander, and capable of the greateſt Undertakings. For with the Strength of one City, not only to fight the Power of the *Macedonians*, and all the *Peloponneſians*; not only to preſerve *Laconia* from being ſpoiled, but

to

to waſte the Enemy's Country, and to take ſo many and ſuch conſiderable Cities, is an Argument of no common Bravery.

He who firſt ſaid, *That Money was the Sinews of Affairs*, ſeemed chiefly in that Saying to reſpect War: And *Demades*, when the *Athenians* had voted that a Navy ſhould be made ready, but had no Money, ſaid, *They ſhould make Bread before they thought of Sailing*. And the old *Archidamus*, in the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, when the Allies deſired that each Party's ſhare of Contributions for the War ſhould de determined, is reported to have ſaid, *War is not to be kept to a ſet Diet:* For as well-breath'd Wreſtlers do in time weary and tire out Thoſe who have only Skill and Activity on their ſide; ſo *Antigonus* coming to the War, with a great ſtock of Wealth, wearied out *Cleomenes*, whoſe Poverty made it difficult for him either to provide Pay for the Mercenaries, or Proviſions for the Citizens. For in all other reſpects the Times favoured *Cleomenes*; *Antigonus* being called home by the Neceſſity of his own Affairs. For the *Barbarians* making their Advantage of his Abſence, fell into and ravaged all *Macedonia*, particularly the *Illyrians* made their Incurſions from the North, and over-ran the whole Country, inſomuch that the *Macedonians* ſent, and urged him to return home to the Defence and Protection of his own Subjects. Their Letters were conceived in terms ſo preſſing and importunate, that there is ſcarce room left to doubt but that if the Meſſengers had arrived never ſo little before the Battle, he had returned that very Moment, and left the *Achæans* to Themſelves. But Fortune, that loves to determine the greateſt Affairs by ſome ſingle minute Circumſtance, without the Concurrence of which the Event would have proved quite contrary, ſhewed in this Conjuncture ſuch an exact niceneſs of Time, that immediately after the Battle of *Sellaſia* was over, and *Cleomenes* had loſt both his Army and his City, the Meſſengers reached *Antigonus*. And This made *Cleomenes*'s Misfortune more to be pitied; for if he

he could have forborn fighting two Days longer, there had been no need of hazarding a Battle, since upon the Departure of the *Macedonians*, he might have had what Conditions he pleased from the *Achæans*. But, as I observed before, his want of Money putting him under a Necessity of relying wholly upon his Arms, he was forced to engage with twenty thousand Men against a Body of thirty thousand, according to the Account left us by *Polybius*.

In this great Danger *Cleomenes* shewed himself a most excellent Commander, and was vigorously supported by the Zeal and Bravery of his Citizens, and They were seconded by the Mercenaries, who were no ways wanting in their Duty. But his Defeat was owing to the Armour of the Enemy far exceeding That of his Troops, and to the Weight and Impetuosity of the *Macedonian Phalanx*.

*Philarchus* adds that Treason was practised against him, to which *Cleomenes* chiefly owed his Defeat. For *Antigonus* had ordered the *Illyrians* and *Acarnanians* in his Army to march about secretly, and encompass one of the Wings in the *Spartan* Army commanded by *Eucleidas* the Brother of *Cleomenes*, whilst He drew up the rest of his Army in order of Battle. *Cleomenes*, whilst he was taking a View of the Enemy from the Eminence where he was posted, could not perceive on which side the *Illyrians* and *Acarnanians* were drawn up, and began to suspect that *Antigonus* had designed them for some such Stratagem. Wherefore ordering *Damoteles* to be sent for, who commanded the Party appointed to guard the Camp, he enjoined him carefully to look after, and discover the Enemy's Designs in the Rear. *Damoteles*, who, Some say, had sold himself to *Antigonus*, assured him, *that he had no reason to be solicitous about that Matter, for that every thing was safe in the Rear, so that he had nothing to do but to look before him, and take care of the Front.*

*Cleomenes*, eased of his Suspicions by this Report, marched directly against *Antigonus*; and by the vigorous

Charge of his *Spartans* made the *Macedonian Phalanx* give ground, and preſſed upon them with great Advantage about half a Mile; but then making a ſtand, and ſeeing the danger the other Wing, commanded by his Brother *Eucleidas* was in, he cried out, *Thou art loſt, dear Brother, thou art loſt, thou brave Example to our* Spartan *Youth, and Theme of our Matrons Songs!*

*Eucleidas*'s Wing being cut in pieces, and the Conqueror from that part falling upon *Cleomenes*, he perceived his Soldiers to be diſordered, and unable to maintain the Fight, and therefore provided for his own Safety. It is ſaid that moſt of the foreign Troops fell in that Action, and that of ſix thouſand *Lacedæmonians* no more than two hundred were ſaved. When he came into the City, he adviſed the Citizens to receive *Antigonus*; and as for Himſelf, he ſaid he would make choice of That, whether it was Life or Death, which ſhould appear moſt beneficial to *Sparta*; and ſeeing the Women run out to meet Thoſe who had eſcaped with him, that they took off their Armour, and preſented Wine unto them, he retired into his own Houſe. A young Woman, who was free born, but had been taken by him at *Megalopolis*, and had waited on him ever ſince the Death of his Wife, went according to Cuſtom, and offered him ſome Refreſhment, perceiving him to be hot, and tired with that day's Service, but though he was very thirſty, he refuſed to drink, and though very weary, to ſit down; but armed as he was, he clapt his Arm ſide-way to a Pillar, and leaning his Forehead upon his Elbow, he reſted his Body a little while, and ran over in his Thoughts what courſe he ſhould take, and then with his Friends went preſently to *Gythium*; where finding Ships fitted for the purpoſe, they embarked. *Antigonus* taking the City, treated the *Lacedæmonians* courteouſly, and neither affronting, nor debaſing the Dignity of *Sparta*, but permitting them to enjoy their own Laws and Polity, he ſacrificed to the Gods, and diſlodged the third Day: For he heard that there was a great War kindled in *Macedonia*, and that the Country was ſpoiled by the *Barbarians*;

*Barbarians*; beſides, he grew ſick of a Conſumption and continual Defluxion on the Lungs, yet he ſtill kept up that he might return and free his own Country, and fall more glorioufly upon an heap of ſlaughtered *Barbarians*. *Philarchus* tells us with great Probability of Truth, that in the Battle he gained againſt the *Illyrians* in *Macedonia* he ſhouted ſo loud that he broke a Vein. It was commonly reported in the Schools, that crying out for Joy after the Victory, *O glorious Day!* he brought up a great quantity of Blood, which flung him into a Fever, of which he died ſoon after. And thus much concerning *Antigonus*.

*Cleomenes* ſailing from *Cytheræ*, touched at another Iſland called *Ægyalia*, whence as he was about to depart for *Cyrene*, one of his Friends, *Therycion* by Name, a Man of an haughty Spirit in all Enterpriſes, and high and boaſting in his Talk, came privately to him, and ſaid thus; *We have Both of us ſhunned the moſt glorious of all kinds of Death, which is that of falling in Battle; tho' all the World has heard us ſay that* Antigonus *ſhould never Triumph over the King of* Sparta *'till he had ſlain him. We have another kind of Death ſtill in our Power, which is next to the Former in Virtue, and in Glory. Whither do we madly ſail, flying That which is near, and ſeeking That which is far removed? For if it is not diſhonourable for the Race of* Hercules *to ſerve the Succeſſors of* Philip *and* Alexander, *we ſhall ſave a long Voyage by delivering ourſelves up to* Antigonus, *who probably ſurpaſſeth* Ptolemy *as much as the* Macedonians *do the* Ægyptians; *but if we think it mean to ſubmit to Thoſe whoſe Arms have conquered us, why ſhould we chooſe Him for our Lord, by whom we have not yet been vanquiſhed? Is it that inſtead of One, we may appear inferior to Two, to* Antigonus *before Whom we are flying, and to* Ptolemy, *whom we are going to flatter? Or, is it for your Mother's ſake that you retreat to* Ægypt? *It will indeed be a very fine and deſirable ſight for her to ſhew her Son to* Ptolemy's *Women, now changed from a Prince into a Captive, and an Exile. Are we not ſtill*

*Masters of our own Swords? and whilst we have* Laconia *in view, shall we not here free ourselves from this disgraceful Misery, and clear ourselves to Those, who at* Sellasia *died for the Honour and Defence of* Sparta? *Or, shall we sit laxily in* Ægypt, *enquiring what News from* Sparta? *and whom* Antigonus *hath been pleased to make Governor of* Lacedæmon? Thus spoke *Therycion*; and this was *Cleomenes*'s Reply; *Base, and Cowardly as thou art, dost thou think by running into the Arms of Death, that easy and ready Refuge, to pass for a Person of Courage and Magnanimity? Without considering that This second Flight is more ignominious than the Former. Better Men than We have given way to their Enemies, having been betrayed by Fortune, or oppressed by Numbers; but He that sinks under Labour or Afflictions, and gives way either to the Opinions or Reproaches of Men, is overcome by his own Effeminacy and Softness: For a voluntary Death ought not to be chosen as a Relief from Action, but as an examplary Action itself; and it is base either to live or to die only to ourselves. That Death to which thou art now inviting us, is proposed only as a Release from our present Miseries, but carries along with it nothing either of Profit, or Bravery. And I think it becomes neither of us to despair of our Country; but when there are no hopes of That left, it will then be time enough to die, if we find ourselves in that Disposition.* To This *Therycion* returned no Answer; but as soon as he could get out of the Presence of *Cleomenes* he went toward the Shore, and ran himself thorough. But *Cleomenes* setting sail from *Ægialia* landed in *Libya*, and being honourably conducted through the King's Country, came to *Alexandria*. When he was first brought to *Ptolemy*, no more than common Civilities and usual Ceremonies were paid him; but when, upon trial, he found him a Man of deep Sense, and great Reason, and that his plain *Laconick* way of Conversation carried a free Pleasantness with it, that he did nothing unbecoming the greatness of his Birth, nor bent under Fortune, and appeared a more faithful Counseller than They who made it their Business

Buſineſs to pleaſe and flatter; he was aſhamed, and repented that he had neglected ſo great a Man, and ſuffered *Antigonus* to get ſo much Power and Reputation by ruining him. Therefore he heaped up Honours and Kindneſſes on *Cleomenes*, and gave him hopes that he would furniſh him with an Army and a Navy to recover *Greece*, and re-inſtate him in his Throne. Beſides, he allowed him a yearly Penſion of four and twenty Talents; a little part of which Sum ſupplied His and his Friends thrifty Temperance; and the reſt was employed in doing good Offices to, and in relieving the Neceſſities of Thoſe that fled *Greece*, and retired into *Ægypt*.

But the Elder *Ptolemy* dying before *Cleomenes*'s Affairs had received a full Diſpatch, and the Succeſſor being a looſe, voluptuous and effeminate Prince, under the Power of his Pleaſures and his Women, his Buſineſs was neglected; for the King was ſo beſotted with his Women and his Wine, that Balls, Muſick and Dancing, were the only Employments of his moſt buſy and ſerious Hours, and the greateſt Affairs of State were managed by *Agathoclea* the King's Miſtreſs, by her Mother, and an infamous Wretch called *Oinanthes*, who was the Miniſter of his Pleaſures. However at firſt they ſeemed to ſtand in need of *Cleomenes*; for *Ptolemy* being afraid of his Brother *Megas*, who by his Mother's means had a great Intereſt amongſt the Soldiers, took *Cleomenes* into his Cabinet-Council, and acquainted him with the Deſign of taking off his Brother. He, though All were for it, declared his Opinion to the contrary, ſaying, *The King, if it were poſſible, ſhould have more Brothers for the better Security and Management of his Affairs*: And *Soſibius*, the greateſt Favourite, replying, *That they were not ſecure of the Mercenaries whilſt* Megas *was alive*; *Cleomenes* returned, *That he need not trouble himſelf about that Matter; for amongſt the Mercenaries there were above three thouſand* Peloponneſians, *who were his faſt Friends, and whom he could command at any time with a Nod.* This Diſcourſe made

*Cleomenes* for the preſent to be looked upon as a Man of Integrity and Power; but afterwards (*Ptolemy*'s Weakneſs increaſing his Fear; and, as it uſually happens, where there is no Judgment and Wiſdom at the bottom, placing his Security in Jealouſy and Suſpicion) rendered *Cleomenes* ſuſpected to the Courtiers, as having too much Intereſt with the Mercenaries; and many had this Saying in their Mouths, *That he was a Lion amidſt a Flock of Sheep*; for ſuch he ſeemed to be in the Court, ſlily overlooking and taking notice of the Management of Affairs; therefore when he deſired a Navy and an Army from the King, his Petition was rejected. But when he underſtood that *Antigonus* was dead, that the *Achaians* were engaged in a War with the *Ætolians*, and that the Affairs of *Peloponneſus*, being now in very great Diſtraction and Diſtreſs, required and invited his Aſſiſtance, he deſired leave to depart only with his Friends, but could not obtain That, the King not ſo much as hearing his Petition, being ſhut up amongſt his Women, and waſting his Hours in Debauchery and Frolicks. But *Soſibius*, the chief Miniſter, thought that *Cleomenes* being detained againſt his Will, would grow ungovernable and dangerous, and yet that it was not ſafe to let him go, being an aſpiring, daring Man, and well acquainted with the Diſeaſes and Weakneſs of the Kingdom; for no Preſents, no Gifts could win him to a Compliance. But as the Ox *Apis*, though ſeemingly revelling in all poſſible Plenty and Delight, continues mindful of the Condition of Life which is natural to him, deſires to friſk it about the Fields in full Liberty, and betrays the Impatience with which he bears the Reſtraint he is under; ſo *Cleomenes* found no Reliſh in that ſoft effeminate way of living, but like *Achilles*,

*Whilſt there, his Heart did waſte with ſecret Grief,*
*And he was eager for the noiſy Wars.*

His Affairs ſtanding in this Condition, *Nicagoras*, the *Meſſenian*, came to *Alexandria*, a Man that deeply hated

hated *Cleomenes*, but pretended to be his Friend; for he had formerly ſold him a fair Eſtate, but never received the Money for it, becauſe the King was either unable, or elſe, by reaſon of his Engagement in the Wars, and other Diſtractions, had no time to pay him. *Cleomenes* ſeeing him Landing (for he was then walking upon the Key) kindly ſaluted him, and asked, *What Buſineſs brought him to Ægypt?* *Nicagoras* returned his Compliment, and told him, *That he came to bring ſome excellent War-horſes to the King.* And *Cleomenes*, with a Smile ſubjoined, *I rather wiſh you had brought Pimps, Whores, and Pathicks; for Thoſe are now the King's chief Delight.* *Nicagoras* at that time ſmiled at the Conceit; but a few days after, he put *Cleomenes* in mind of the Eſtate that he had bought of him, and deſired his Money, proteſting, That he would not have troubled him, if his Merchandize had turned to that Account, which he thought it would. *Cleomenes* replied, That he had not a Penny left of all that had been given him: At which Anſwer, *Nicagoras* being nettled, told *Soſibius* *Cleomenes*'s Scoff upon the King. He careſſed him for the Diſcovery, but deſiring to have ſome greater Reaſon to excite the King againſt *Cleomenes*, perſuaded *Nicagoras* to leave a Letter written againſt *Cleomenes*, importing that he had a Deſign, if he could have gotten Ships and Soldiers, to ſurpriſe *Cyrene*: *Nicagoras* wrote ſuch a Letter, and left *Ægypt*. Four Days after *Soſibius* brought the Letter to *Ptolemy*, pretending it was juſt then delivered him, and with a bitter Invective excited the Fury of the Youth; upon This it was agreed, that *Cleomenes* ſhould be confined to a large Apartment, and treated as formerly, but not ſuffered to go out of it: This Uſage extremely afflicted *Cleomenes*, but his Hopes became deſperate upon the following Accident. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chyrſermus*, a Favourite of the King's, always carried himſelf fairly towards *Cleomenes*; they contracted a near Acquaintance, and would talk freely together about the State. He, upon *Cleomenes*'s Deſire, came to him, and diſcourſed him with much Moderation

tion and Tenderneſs, endeavoured to apologize for the King's Conduct, and put a plauſible colouring upon his Behaviour; but as he went out again, not knowing that *Cleomenes* followed him to the Door, he very ſeverely reprimanded the Keepers, *for looking ſo careleſly after a wild Beaſt, whom, if he once got out of their Hands, they would find it a hard matter to recover.* This *Cleomenes* Himſelf heard, and retiring before *Ptolemy* perceived it, told his Friends what had happened. Upon This they caſt off all their former Hopes, and determined for violent Proceedings, reſolving to be revenged on *Ptolemy* for his baſe and unjuſt Dealing, to have Satisfaction for the Affronts, to die as it became *Spartans*, and not ſtay 'till they were butchered like fatted Sacrifices. For it was both grievous and diſhonourable for *Cleomenes*, who had ſcorned to come to Terms with *Antigonus*, a brave Warrior, and a Man of Action, to wait an effeminate King's Leiſure, 'till he ſhould lay aſide his Fiddle, and end his Dance, and then kill him. Theſe Courſes being reſolved on, and *Ptolemy* happening at the ſame time to make a Progreſs to *Canopus*, they firſt ſpread abroad a Report that the King had determined to ſet him at Liberty. In Conſequence of this Report, it being cuſtomary with theſe Princes when they had a mind to enlarge a Priſoner to ſend him a Supper, and ſeveral magnificent Preſents the Night before, *Cleomenes*'s Friends provided ſuch an Entertainment and Preſents, which they ſent to him in Priſon, and impoſed on the Keepers by making them believe they came from *Ptolemy*. *Cleomenes* adorning his Head with a Chaplet of Flowers, ſacrificed to the Gods, ſent a Portion of the Sacrifice to his Keepers, and feaſted his Friends at his own Table.

It is ſaid he began the Action ſooner than had been intended, becauſe one of his Domeſticks, who was in the Secret, had lain abroad all Night with a Woman, who was his Miſtreſs. This made him afraid of a Diſcovery; wherefore towards Noon, whilſt the Guards, whom he had plentifully doſed the Night before, were

ſtill

ſtill faſt aſleep, he put on his Coat of Mail, and opening the Seam on his Right Shoulder, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, he iſſued forth, together with his Friends, provided in the ſame manner, making Thirteen in All.

*Hippotas*, one of them, tho' Infirm and Lame, followed the firſt Onſet very well, but when he perceived they ſlackened in their Advances, and waited for Him, he deſired them *to run him through, and not ruin their Enterpriſe, by ſtaying for an uſeleſs, unprofitable Man.* By Chance they met with an *Alexandrian*, who was leading a Horſe in the Street, which they took from him, and having mounted *Hippotas* they ran through all the Streets, encouraging and exhorting the People to join with them in the Cauſe of Liberty. They indeed had Courage enough to commend the Undertaking, and admire *Cleomenes* for his undaunted Reſolution, but not a Man of them had the Heart to follow and aſſiſt him. Three of them fell on *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chryſermus*, as he was coming out of the Palace, and killed him: Another *Ptolemy*, the Governor of the City, advancing againſt them in a Chariot, they ſet upon, diſperſed his Guards and Attendants, and pulling him out of the Chariot, killed him upon the Place. Then they made toward the Caſtle, deſigning to break open the Priſon, and take the Priſoners to their Aſſiſtance; but the Keepers were too quick for them, and ſecured the Paſſages. Being baffled in this Attempt, *Cleomenes* with his Company roamed about the City, none joining with him, but All retreating from, and flying his Approach: Therefore deſpairing of Succeſs, and ſaying to his Friends, *That it was no wonder that Women ruled over Thoſe Men who fled from Liberty*; he exhorted them all to die bravely, and becoming the Dignity of their former Actions. *Hippotas* was at his own Requeſt firſt diſpatched by One of the Youngeſt in the Company; when That was done, they every Man fell generouſly upon his own Sword, All except *Panteus*, who had been the Foremoſt in ſurpriſing the City of *Megalopolis*. This

Perſon

Perſon was of a very graceful Figure, in the Flower of his Age, and more exactly formed in the *Spartan* Diſcipline than any of his Companions, in Conſideration of which the King had conceived a particular Value for him, and loved him tenderly. He now commanded him to wait 'till he ſaw them all expired, after which he gave him leave to kill Himſelf. When the reſt had fallen upon their Swords, and lay extended on the Ground, *Panteus* examined them One by One, and pricked them with the Point of his Sword, to try if Life remained in any of them. He pricked *Cleomenes* in the Foot, and finding it raiſed a Contorſion in his Face kiſſed him, ſat down by him, and as ſoon as he perceived that he was expired he embraced him, and ſlew himſelf upon his Body.

Thus fell *Cleomenes*, that great, brave Man, after he had been King of *Sparta* Sixteen Years. When his Death came to be known publickly in the City, *Crateſiclea*, though a Woman of a great Spirit, could not bear up under the inſupportable weight of her Afflictions; but embracing *Cleomenes*'s Children abandoned herſelf to Grief and Lamentation. The Eldeſt of thoſe Children got unſuſpected to the top of the Houſe, from whence he flung himſelf headlong. He was much bruiſed with the Fall, but not killed, and when they came to take him up he was very angry, and highly reſented it that they would not ſuffer him to deſtroy himſelf.

As ſoon as *Ptolemy* was informed of this Adventure, he ordered the Body of *Cleomenes* to be incloſed in a Hide, and hung up, and that his Children, his Mother, and the Women that attended her, ſhould be put to Death. Among theſe was the Wife of *Panteus*, a Lady of a moſt exquiſite Beauty, and ſtately Preſence. They had been juſt married, and were in the Firſt Tranſports of Love, when theſe Calamities fell upon them.

When *Panteus* went with *Cleomenes* from *Sparta*, ſhe was very deſirous to embark with him, but her Parents prevented it, and held her in cloſe Confinement; Notwithſtanding

withſtanding which in a few days after ſhe found means to provide herſelf with a Horſe, and a little Money, and ſo eſcaped to the Port of *Tænarus*, where ſhe immediately embarked, got ſafe to her Husband in *Ægypt*, and chearfully ſhared with him in all the Hardſhips and Inconveniencies of a Foreign Country. When the Soldiers were conducting *Crateſiclea* to the Place of Execution ſhe ſupported her, held up her Train, exhorted her to exert on that Occaſion all her Courage and Reſolution; tho' the Princeſs wanted no ſuch Exhortation, but looking Death in the Face with the greateſt unconcern, deſired no other Favour than to die before her Children. Notwithſtanding which the Executioners firſt murdered Them before her Eyes, and then diſpatched the unhappy Princeſs herſelf, who in that Article of the utmoſt Miſery gave no other Inſtance of her Anguiſh than in the uttering of theſe Words, *Ah! my Children whither are you gone?* The Wife of *Panteus*, who was of a ſtrong make, and the largeſt ſize, girt her Robe about her, and with a ſettled Compoſure of Mind took care of her Companions as they were executed One after the Other, and ſhrouded their Corps in ſuch Linen as ſhe could get, and had brought with her for that purpoſe. At laſt when her own turn was come ſhe prepared Herſelf, and letting her Garments down about her, forbidding any to approach her Perſon, or behold her, except the Executioner, ſhe ſuffered him to do his Office, and died the Death of a Heroine. So careful had ſhe been in adjuſting herſelf, and maintaining in Death that decent Modeſty which ſhe had preſerved inviolable whilſt ſhe lived, that no one was wanted to render Her the laſt Offices by guarding her breathleſs Body, and throwing a Veil over it. Thus in this fatal Tragedy, wherein the Men were rivaled by the Women, who contended which Sex ſhould meet Death with the greateſt Intrepidity, *Lacedæmon* made it appear that it is not in the Power of Fortune to commit a Violence upon Virtue. A few Days after, Thoſe who guarded the Body of *Cleomenes*, ſaw a great Snake winding

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ing about his Head, and covering his Face, ſo that no Bird of Prey would fly at it. This made the King ſuperſtitiouſly afraid, and ſet the Women of the Court upon ſeveral Luſtrations, in a firm Perſuaſion that they had murdered a Man beloved of the Gods, and of a Nature ſuperior to Humanity. All the People ran in Proceſſions to the Place, and gave *Cleomenes* the Title of *Hero*, and Son of the Gods, 'till the Philoſophers ſatisfied them by ſaying, That *as dead Oxen breed Bees, Horſes, Waſps, and Beetles riſe from the Carcaſes of dead Aſſes; ſo the Juices of which human Marrow conſiſts being fix'd, and coagulated, produce Serpents.* And This having been obſerved by the Ancients they appropriated a Serpent rather than any other Creature to Heroes.

THE

# THE LIFE OF *TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.*

HAVING dispatched the foregoing History, we shall proceed to take a View of a pair of *Romans*, not less remarkable for their Misfortunes than the former; and compare with the Lives of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, These of *Tiberius* and *Caius*. They were the Sons of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who though he had been once *Censor*, twice *Consul*, and twice had *triumph'd*, yet was more renowned and esteemed for his Virtue than his Honours. Upon this Account, after the Death of that *Scipio* who defeated *Hannibal*, he was thought worthy to match with his Daughter *Cornelia*; though there had been no Friendship or Familiarity between *Scipio* and Him, but rather the contrary. There goes a Report, that he once found in his Bed-chamber a couple of Snakes, and that the *Soothsayers* being consulted concerning the *Prodigy*, advised, *That he should neither*

*neither kill them Both, nor let them Both Eſcape*; ſaying, That if the Male-Serpent was killed, *Tiberius* ſhould die, and if the Female, *Cornelia*: And that therefore *Tiberius*, who extremely loved his Wife, and thought beſides that it was much more becoming Him, who was an old Man, to die, than Her, who as yet was in the Flower of her Age, killed the Male-Serpent, and let the Female eſcape: And ſoon after Himſelf died, leaving behind him twelve Children born to him by *Cornelia*.

*Cornelia* taking upon her the Care of her Family, and Education of her Children, approved herſelf ſo modeſt a Matron, ſo indulgent a Mother, and ſo conſtant and noble-ſpirited a Widow, that *Tiberius* ſeemed to all Men to have done nothing unreaſonable, in chooſing to die for ſo great a Woman; who, when King *Ptolemy* Himſelf would have married her, and proffered her his Crown, refuſed it, and choſe rather to live a Widow. In this State ſhe continued, and loſt all her Children, except one Daughter, who was married to *Scipio* the Younger; and two Sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, whoſe Lives we are now writing.

Theſe ſhe brought up with ſo great Care, that though they were without Diſpute of the nobleſt Family, and had the beſt natural Parts among the *Romans*; yet they ſeemed to owe their eminent Virtues, more to their Education than their Birth. Now, as in the Statues and Pictures of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, though the Brothers reſemble one another, yet there is a manifeſt diſtinction in the countenance of him, who delighted in the *Cæſtus*, from the Other, who was famous for Horſemanſhip: So tho' there was a great Agreement between theſe two noble Youths, in their common purſuit after Fortitude and Moderation, after Liberality and Eloquence, and greatneſs of Mind; yet in their Actions and Adminiſtrations of publick Affairs, a Diſagreement as great manifeſtly appeared. It will not be amiſs, before we proceed, to ſet down the Difference between them.

*Tiberius*,

*Tiberius*, in the Make of his Countenance and his Looks, in his Geſture and Motion, was gentle and compoſed; but *Caius*, earneſt and vehement: So that in their publick Speeches to the People, the one modeſtly uſed very little Action, nor changed his Place; the other would walk about in the *Roſtrum*, and in the heat of his Orations pull his Gown off his Shoulders, and was the Firſt of all the *Romans* that made uſe of ſuch Geſtures: As *Cleon* is ſaid to be the firſt Orator among the *Athenians*, who pulled off his Cloke, and ſmote his Thigh, in his Harangues to the Multitude. *Caius* his Oratory was impetuous, and vehement to an extreme degree; but *Tiberius* was more mild, and apt to move Pity and Compaſſion: In his Words he was pure and natural, yet laborious and accurate; but *Caius* was pompous and figurative. So likewiſe in their way of Living, and at their Tables, *Tiberius* was frugal, and no Affecter of Variety: But *Caius*, if indeed compared with other Men, moderate enough; but in reſpect of his Brother, too curious a Lover of Rarities, and profuſe; which *Druſus* objected to him when he told him, That he had bought certain *Delphick* Tables of Silver ſo exquiſitely wrought, that they amounted to the Value of twelve hundred and fifty Drachmas for every Pound weight.

The ſame difference that appeared in their Speaking, was obſervable alſo in their Tempers: The One was ſmooth and ſedate, the Other rough and paſſionate; and to that degree, that often in the midſt of his Orations he was ſo hurried away by his Paſſion even againſt his own Will, that he fell to give ill Language; and ſo ſtrain'd his Voice, that he could not proceed in the Speech. For a Remedy to this Exceſs, he made uſe of an ingenious Servant of his, one *Licinius*, who ſtood conſtantly behind him with a *Pitch-pipe*, or Inſtrument to regulate the Voice; and whenever he perceived his Maſter's Tone alter, and grow harſh with Anger, he ſtruck a ſoft Note with his Pipe; at the hearing of which, *Caius* immediately bated of the Vehemence of his Paſſion

and Voice, grew Mild, and was eaſily recalled to Temper. Theſe are the Differences between the two Brothers; but their Valour againſt their Enemies, their Juſtice to their Countrymen, their Care and Well-management of the publick Affairs, and laſtly, their Continency againſt Senſuality and Pleaſures, were equally remarkable, and alike in Both.

*Tiberius* was the Elder by Nine Years, which occaſion'd that their publick Actions were divided by the difference of the Times, in which Thoſe of the One, and Thoſe of the Other, were tranſacted. This was no ſmall hindrance to their Undertakings; for not coming at the ſame time to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, they could not join their Intereſts together, which between them Both, had they flouriſh'd at once, muſt needs have been very great, and almoſt irreſiſtible. We muſt therefore give an Account of each of them ſingly, and firſt of the Eldeſt.

*Tiberius*, though as yet but a young Man, was ſo celebrated and eſteem'd, that he was ſoon admitted into the College of the *Augurs*, and that with Reſpect had, more to his early Virtue, than his noble Birth. This *Appius Claudius* made appear; who, though he had been Conſul and Cenſor, and was then the chief of the *Roman* Senate, and excelling in Wiſdom moſt of his Quality, at a publick Feaſt of the *Augurs*, addreſs'd himſelf openly to *Tiberius*, and with great Expreſſions of Kindneſs offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage; which, when *Tiberius* had with much Satisfaction embraced, and they had ſettled the Articles, *Appius* went ſtraight home, and calling out his Wife to the Gate, with a loud Voice cry'd out, *O* Antiſtia, *I have betrothed our Daughter* Claudia. She anſwered in a Surpriſe, *Why ſo ſuddenly? What means this haſte? Unleſs you have betrothed her to* Tiberius Gracchus. I am not ignorant that Some apply this Story to *Tiberius*, the Father of the *Gracchi*, and *Scipio Africanus*; but moſt People relate it as we have done: And *Polybius* writes, that after the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, the neareſt Relations

tions of *Cornelia*, preferring *Tiberius* to all other Competitors, gave her to Him in Marriage, which is an Inſtance that ſhe had not been pre-engaged to any one by her Father.

Now this young *Tiberius* ſerving in *Africa* under the younger *Scipio*, who had married his Siſter, and converſing under the ſame Tent with his General, ſoon obſerved and learned his noble Genius, which excited a great Emulation of his Virtues, and ſtirred him up to the Imitation of his Actions, ſo that in a ſhort time he excelled all the young Men of the Army in his regular Behaviour and Courage; and at a Siege of one of the Enemy's Towns was the Firſt that mounted the Enemy's Wall, as *Fannius* ſays, who writes, that He Himſelf climb'd up with him, and was his Companion in that Action. His Preſence created amongſt the Soldiers an extraordinary Affection, and his Departure left a paſſionate Deſire of his Return.

After that Expedition, being choſen *Queſtor*, it was his Fortune to ſerve in the War againſt the *Numantines*, under the command of *C. Mancinus* the Conſul, a Perſon no ways blameable, but the moſt unfortunate of all the *Roman* Generals. Notwithſtanding, amidſt the greateſt Misfortunes, and in the moſt unſucceſsful Enterpriſes, not only the Diſcretion and Valour of *Tiberius*, but alſo (which was ſtill more to be admired) the great Reſpect and Veneration which he had for his General, was moſt eminently Remarkable; though the General Himſelf, when reduced to Straits, forgot his own Dignity and Office: For being beaten, he endeavoured to diſlodge by Night, and leave his Camp; which the *Numantines* perceiving, they immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of his Camp, purſuing that part of the Forces, which was put to Flight; ſlew all Thoſe who were in the Rear, hedged the whole Army in on every ſide, and forced them into ſuch intricate Places, as that there could be no poſſibility of an Eſcape. *Mancinus*, deſpairing to make his way through by Force, ſent a Meſſenger to deſire a Truce, and Ceſſation of Arms; but

they refuſed to conclude a Treaty with any one except *Tiberius*, and required that He ſhould be ſent to treat with them. This they earneſtly inſiſted upon, not only in regard to the young Man's Courage, (for he had a great Reputation amongſt the Soldiers) but likewiſe in Remembrance of his Father *Tiberius*, who in his Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* had utterly deſtroyed ſeveral other Places, but granted a Peace to the *Numantines*, and prevailed upon the *Romans* to keep it punctually and inviolably.

Upon this Conſideration, *Tiberius* was diſpatched to the Enemy, whom he perſuaded to accept of ſeveral Conditions, and He Himſelf complied with others; and by this means it is evident, that he ſaved twenty thouſand of the *Roman* Citizens, beſides Slaves, and all Thoſe that followed the Army. However the *Numantines* plundered the Camp, and carried away every thing they found there; amongſt other Things were *Tiberius*'s Books of Accounts, containing the whole Tranſactions of his *Quæſtorſhip*, upon which he ſet an extraordinary Value: And therefore when the Army was all ready upon their March, he returned to *Numantia*, accompained with only Three or Four of his intimate Friends; and making his Application to the principal Officers of the *Numantines*, he earneſtly intreated, that they would return him his Books, leſt his Enemies ſhould thereby take an occaſion to upbraid him, for not being able to give an Account of the Monies received and diſburſed by him. The *Numantines* joyfully embraced this Opportunity of obliging him, and kindly invited him into the City; as he ſtood doubting with himſelf what to do, they approached towards him, took him by the Hand, and earneſtly begged, that he would never again look upon them as Enemies, but relying upon their Friendſhip, be confident for the future of their inviolable Sincerity. *Tiberius* thought it convenient to believe them, becauſe he was deſirous to have his Books returned, and was afraid leſt he ſhould diſoblige them, by ſhewing any manner of Diſtruſt. As ſoon as

he

he was entered into the City, they in the firſt place invited him to a publick Entertainment, and earneſtly preſſed him to accept of it: Afterwards they returned his Books, and gave him the Liberty to take whatever he ſaw moſt acceptable among the Spoils. He on the other hand would accept of nothing but ſome Frankincenſe, which he uſed in his publick Sacrifices; and after he had kindly embraced them, and made his Compliments, departed.

When he returned to *Rome*, he found the Conditions he had agreed to with the Enemy cenſured and reproached, as a Buſineſs that was baſe and ſcandalous to the *Romans*; but the Relations and Friends of the Soldiers, who were the greateſt part of the Populace, came flocking to *Tiberius*, whom they acknowledged as the Preſerver of ſo many Citizens, and imputed all the Miſcarriages that had happened, to the General. They who were diſſatisfied with the Proceedings, propoſed the Example of their Anceſtors to be followed. For heretofore on the like Occaſion they ſent back ſtark naked to the *Samnites* thoſe Generals who thought themſelves very happy when they eſcaped out of the Hands of their Enemies, in virtue of an ignominious Compoſition to which they had too eaſily ſubmitted. They ſent back in that manner, not only the Generals, but all Thoſe who had any Share in the Treaty, and had conſented to it, ſuch as the Queſtors and Tribunes, that they might lay at Their Door the Guilt of Perjury, and Breach of Peace. But in this Affair, the Populace ſhewing an extraordinary Kindneſs and Affection for *Tiberius*, they indeed voted that the Conſul ſhould be ſtripped and put in Irons, and ſo delivered to the *Numantines*; but they granted a general Pardon to all the Reſt, out of pure Reſpect to *Tiberius*. It is very probable that *Scipio*, who at that time was a leading Man among the *Romans*, lent him his Aſſiſtance; though he was nevertheleſs cenſured for not protecting *Mancinus* too; and that he did not ratify the Articles of Peace concluded with the *Numantines*, of which his Kinſman and Friend *Tiberius* was the Author,

Author. But it is evident, these Complaints arose from *Tiberius*'s own ambition and the too great zeal of his Friends. However, this Disorder never came to a malignant and incurable Disease; and I cannot be persuaded, that *Tiberius* would ever have taken those Courses which he did, if *Scipio Africanus* had had any Hand in the Management of his Affairs: For at the time when he was engaged in the War against *Numantia*, *Tiberius* then ventured to make Proposals of new Laws, for the better Regulation of the Government, upon the following occasion.

It had been a Custom among the *Romans*, whenever they made any Conquests upon the Territories of their Neighbours, to sell part thereof by Auction, and turn the remainder into *Common*. This Common they assigned to such of the Citizens as were poor and indigent, for which they were to pay only a small Acknowledgment into the publick Treasury: But when the wealthy Men began to raise the Rents, and turn the poor People out of their Possessions, it was enacted by Law, that no Person whatever should enjoy more than five hundred Acres of Ground. This Act did for some time restrain the Avarice of the richer, and was no small Supply to the poorer People, who possessed their respective Proportions of Ground, as they had been formerly rented by them: Afterwards the rich Men of the Neighbourhood contrived to get these Lands again into their Possessions, under other Peoples Names, and at last would not stick to claim most of 'em publickly in their Own. The Poor, who were thus deprived of their Farms, would neither list themselves in the *Militia*, nor take any care of the Education of their Children: insomuch that in a short time there were few Freemen remaining in all *Italy*, which swarmed with a numerous Company of barbarous Slaves: These the rich Men employed about the cultivating their Ground, dispossessing the Citizens. *C. Lælius*, an intimate Acquaintance of *Scipio*'s, undertook to rectify this Abuse; but meeting with Opposition from Men of Authority, and fearing left a Riot should thereupon

upon be committed, he ſoon deſiſted; upon which account he was called *Lælius the Wiſe*.

*Tiberius* being elected *Tribune* of the People, proſecuted that Deſign with all Diligence, at the Inſtigation (as 'tis commonly reported) of *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Bloſſius* the Philoſopher. *Diophanes* was One who had been baniſhed from *Mitylene*, the Other was an *Italian*, of the City of *Cuma*, educated there by *Antipater* of *Tarſus*, who afterwards did him the Honour to dedicate his Philoſophical Lectures to him. Some are apt to think *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Tiberius*, contributed towards it, becauſe ſhe frequently upbraided her Sons, upon this Account, that the *Romans* as yet rather called her the Daughter of *Scipio*, than the Mother of the *Gracchi*; but it was thought *Sp. Poſtumius* was the chief Occaſion of it. He was Contemporary with *Tiberius*, and very ambitious to gain the Reputation of being the better Orator; whom, when *Tiberius* at his return from the Campaign, found to be in a very great Eſteem and Authority, he was deſirous to out-do him, by attempting a popular Enterpriſe of this Difficulty, and of ſuch great Conſequence. But his Brother *Caius* has left it in Writing, that when *Tiberius* went through *Tuſcany* into *Numantia*, and found the Countries almoſt depopulated, there being hardly any Huſbandmen or Shepherds, and for the moſt part only barbarous foreign Slaves; he from that time took into his ſerious Conſideration the Management of this Affair, which in the ſequal proved ſo fatal to his Family; though it is moſt certain that the People Themſelves chiefly excited him to be Active and Vigorous in the Proſecution of it, by their fixing publick Writings upon the Porches, Walls and Monuments, humbly beſeeching him, that he would re-eſtabliſh them in their former Poſſeſſions.

However he did not form this Law without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of thoſe Citizens, who were then moſt eminent for their Virtue and Authority; amongſt whom was *Craſſus* the High-Prieſt, *Mutius Scævola* the Lawyer (who at that time was Conſul) and *Claudius Appius*

*pius* his Father-in-law. Never did any Law appear more moderate and gentle, eſpecially being enacted againſt ſo great Oppreſſion and Avarice: For They who ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed for tranſgreſſing the former Laws, and ſhould at leaſt have loſt all their Titles to ſuch Lands, which they had unjuſtly uſurped; yet they were ordered notwithſtanding to receive a Gratuity for quitting their unlawful Claims, and reſtoring the Lands to their right Owners, who ſtood moſt in need thereof. But tho' this Reformation was managed with ſo much Tenderneſs, inſomuch that all former Tranſactions were ſmothered, and the People were only careful to prevent Abuſes of the like nature for the future; yet on the other hand, the Monied Men, and Thoſe of great Eſtates, were exaſperated againſt the Law itſelf, through Covetouſneſs, and againſt the Lawgiver through Anger and Obſtinacy; they therefore endeavoured to ſeduce the People, inſinuating to them, that *Tiberius* had introduced ſuch a Diviſion of the Lands, with a Deſign only to diſturb the Government, and put all things into a Confuſion.

But they ſucceeded not in this Project; for *Tiberius* being a Perſon always reſolute in the maintaining of an honourable and juſt Cauſe, and one whoſe Eloquence was ſufficient to have made a leſs creditable Action appear plauſible, was earneſt, and not eaſily to be controlled. Upon this Account, being placed in the *Roſtrum*, he made a Speech on the behalf of the poor People, to this effect. *The ſavage Beaſts*, ſays he, *in* Italy *have their particular Dens, they have their Places of Repoſe and Refuge; but the Men who have born Arms, and expoſed their Lives for the Safety of their Country, enjoy in the mean time nothing more in it but the freſh Air and Sunſhine; and having no Houſes or Settlements of their Own, are conſtrained to wander from place to place with their Wives and Children.* He told 'em, *that the Commanders impoſed upon and deceived them, when at the Head of their Armies, they exhorted the common Soldiers to fight for their Sepulchers and Altars; whereas not one* Roman *amongſt ſo Many is poſſeſſed of either Altar or Monument, neither have*

*have they any Houſes of their own, or Seats of their Anceſtors to defend: They fought indeed, and were ſlain, but it was to maintain the Luxury and Wealth of other Men: They likewiſe were ſtyled the Lords of the Univerſe, but in the mean time had not one Foot of Ground which they could call their own.* To an Harangue of this Nature, ſpoken to an Enthuſiaſtical and Tumultuous Rabble, by a Perſon of extraordinary Prudence and great Zeal, none of his Adverſaries at that time preſumed to make the leaſt Oppoſition. Forbearing therefore all manner of Diſputes, they turned themſelves towards *Marcus Octavius*, his Fellow-Tribune, who being a young Man of a ſober Converſation, modeſt in his Behaviour, and an intimate Friend of *Tiberius*'s, did upon that account decline at firſt the oppoſing of him; but at length over-perſuaded with the repeated Importunities of ſome conſiderable Perſons, he was prevailed upon to withſtand *Tiberius*, and hinder the paſſing of the Law. Now it is a Cuſtom among the Tribunes to have no Point carried where there is any Oppoſition. If All but One of them ſhould join in an Edict, it is all to no purpoſe whilſt he continues to diſſent and oppoſe it. *Tiberius* being enraged at theſe Proceedings, preſently laid aſide this mild Bill; but at the ſame time preferred Another; which as it was more grateful to the common People, ſo it was much more ſevere againſt Extortioners; commanding them, *To make an immediate Surrender of all ſuch Lands, which they, contrary to former Laws, had got into their Poſſeſſions.* From hence it was, that there aroſe daily Contentions between Him and *Octavius* in their Orations; however, though they expreſſed themſelves with much heat and earneſtneſs, they yet were never known to uſe any ſcurrilous Language, or in their Paſſion to let ſlip any indecent Expreſſions, ſo as to derogate from one another. From whence it is obſervable, how much a good Temper and an ingenuous Education influence and compoſe Mens Minds; not only in their Meetings for Pleaſure and Diverſion, but likewiſe in their Contentions, and in their very Emulation for Preferments.

When

When *Tiberius* considered, that *Octavius* Himself had offended against this Law, and detained a great Quantity of Ground from the Commonalty, he desired him to forbear opposing him any farther; and generously proffered for the publick Good, tho' He Himself had but an indifferent Estate, to purchase *Octavius*'s Share, at his proper Cost and Charges: But upon the Refusal of this Proffer by *Octavius*, he then published an Edict, prohibiting all Magistrates to exercise their respective Functions, 'till such time as the Law was either ratified or rejected by publick Votes. He farther sealed up the Gates of *Saturn*'s Temple, in which the publick Treasury was kept, so that the Treasurers could neither take any thing out from thence, or put any thing in. He threatned to impose a severe Fine upon Such as should presume to disobey his Commands, insomuch that all the Officers for fear of this Penalty omitted the Exercise of their several Jurisdictions. Upon This, the Gentlemen of Estates put themselves into Mourning, went up and down Melancholy and Dejected; they enter'd into a Conspiracy against *Tiberius*, and procured Ruffians to murder him; insomuch that he never went abroad without a *Tuck* or *Rapier*, such as Robbers use, which the *Latines* call *Dolon*.

When the Day appointed was come, and the People summoned to give their Votes, the rich Men seized upon the *Balloting-Boxes*, and carried them away by Force; thus all things were in Confusion. But when *Tiberius*'s Party appeared strong enough to oppose the contrary Faction, and were drawn together in a Body, with Resolutions to do so; *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, two Persons of Consular Quality, threw themselves at *Tiberius*'s Feet, took him by the Hand, and with Tears in their Eyes, humbly begged of him to desist. *Tiberius* considering the Inconveniences that were likely to arise, and having a great respect for two such eminent Persons, demanded of them what they would advise him to do. They acknowledged themselves altogether unfit to advise in a Matter of so great Importance, but earnestly intreated

intreated him to leave it to the determination of the Senate. When the Senate was aſſembled, and yet could not bring the Buſineſs to a Period, by reaſon of the Prevalency of the rich Faction, he then betook himſelf to illegal and unjuſt Methods, endeavouring to deprive *Octavius* of his Tribuneſhip; it being impoſſible for him, without That, to get the Law ratified and confirmed: At firſt he careſſed him with moſt obliging Language, and taking him by his Hands, beſeeched him, that now in the preſence of all the People, he would take this Opportunity to oblige them, in granting only that Requeſt which was in itſelf ſo juſt and reaſonable, being but a ſmall Recompence in regard of thoſe many Dangers and Hardſhips which they had undergone for the publick Safety. *Octavius* would by no means be perſuaded to a Compliance; whereupon *Tiberius* declared openly, that ſeeing They Two were jointly concerned in the ſame Office, and of equal Authority, it would be a difficult Matter to compoſe this Difference without a Civil War, and that the only Remedy which he knew muſt of Neceſſity be the depoſing One of them from their Office. He deſired therefore that *Octavius* would ſummon the People to paſs their Verdict upon Him firſt, averring that he would willingly relinquiſh his Authority if the honeſt Citizens would conſent to it. But *Octavius* ſtill continued refractory; wherefore *Tiberius* told him plainly, That the People ſhould have liberty to vote againſt him, if upon mature Deliberation he did not ſuddenly alter his Mind; and after this Declaration adjourned the Aſſembly 'till the next day. When the People were met together again, *Tiberius* placed himſelf in the *Roſtrum*, and endeavoured a ſecond time to perſuade *Octavius*: But All being to no purpoſe, he referred the whole Matter to the People, ordering them to vote whether *Octavius* ſhould be depoſed or not; and when ſeventeen of the thirty five Tribes had already voted againſt him, and there wanted only the Votes of one Tribe more for his final Deprivation,

*Tiberius* put a ſhort ſtop to the Proceedings, and vouchſafed to renew his Importunities: he embraced and kiſſed him before all the Aſſembly, begging with all the earneſtneſs imaginable, that he would neither ſuffer himſelf to be expoſed to ſuch Infamy, nor Him to be reputed the Author and Promoter of ſuch violent Meaſures. *Octavius* (they ſay) ſeemed a little ſoftned and moved with theſe Importunities, and with his Eyes full of Tears continued ſilent for a conſiderable Time: But afterwards looking towards the Men of Eſtates who were gathered together in a Body, partly for Shame, and partly for fear of incurring their Diſpleaſure, he generouſly bid *Tiberius* do what he pleaſed. The Law for his Deprivation being thus voted, *Tiberius* ordered one of his Servants, whom he had made a Freeman, to pull *Octavius* out of the *Roſtrum*; for he employed his own Domeſtick Servants inſtead of Serjeants.

And This was a further addition to the Puniſhment, that *Octavius* was dragged out in ſuch an ignominious Manner. The People immediately aſſaulted him with great Violence, whilſt the rich Men ran in to his Aſſiſtance. *Octavius* preſently fled, and without any Attendant eſcaped the Fury of the Rabble, tho' it happen'd that a truſty Servant of His, who had placed himſelf by his Maſter, that he might aſſiſt him towards his Eſcape, in keeping off the Multitude, had both his Eyes ſtruck out, contrary to the Intention of *Tiberius*, who ran with all haſte (when he perceived the Diſturbance) to oppoſe the Rioters.

This being done, the Law concerning the Lands was ratified and confirmed, and three Commiſſioners were appointed to make a Survey of the Grounds, and ſee the ſame equally divided: The Commiſſioners were *Tiberius* himſelf, *Claudius Appius* his Father-in-law, and his Brother *C. Gracchus*, who at this time was not at *Rome*, but in the Army under the Command of *Scipio Africanus* before *Numantia*. Theſe things were tranſacted by *Tiberius* without any Diſturbance, None daring

to

to ſtand in Oppoſition to him; and beſides all This, he choſe by his own Intereſt and Authority another Tribune, not as formerly out of the Eminent Nobility, but *Mutius*, one of his own Domeſtick Servants. Upon the account of theſe Proceedings the Rich were extremely offended, and ſtill dreaded, leſt he ſhould grow more popular; they therefore took all Opportunities of affronting him publickly in the Senate-Houſe; for when he deſired, as was uſual, to have a Tent provided at the publick Charge for his Uſe, when he ſhould begin his Expedition to divide the Lands, though it was a Favour commonly granted to Perſons employed in Buſineſs of much leſs Importance, yet it was peremptorily refus'd to Him; and they would allow him only nine *Oboli* to defray each Day's Expences.

P. *Naſica* was the chief Promoter of theſe Affronts, and was not afraid to own how much he hated him, upon the account of his having formerly a very great Eſtate in thoſe publick Lands, and did not a little reſent it, to be turned out now by Force. The People on the other hand were ſtill more and more enraged, inſomuch that a little after This, it happening that one of *Tiberius*'s Friends died ſuddenly, and his Body being full of malignant Spots, the People ran in a tumultuous manner to his Funeral, crying aloud that the Man was poiſoned: They took the Bier upon their Shoulders, and carried the Corps to the Funeral Pile, really believing that the plain Symptons of Poiſon were eaſily diſcernible; for the Body ſwelled to a great bigneſs, and ſuch a quantity of corrupt Humours iſſued out, that the Funeral-fire was extinguiſhed thereby; and when it was again kindled, the Wood ſtill would not burn, inſomuch that they were conſtrained to carry the Corps to another place, where with much difficulty it was conſumed. Beſides This, *Tiberius*, that he might inteníe the People yet more, put himſelf into Mourning, brought his Children amongſt the Crowd, intreated the People to provide for Them and their Mother, as if He

Himſelf did now deſpair of his own Security. About this time King *Attalus*, ſirnamed *Philopater*, died, and *Eudemus*, a *Pergamenian*, brought his *Laſt Will* to *Rome*, whereby he had made the *Roman* People his eirs.

*Tiberius*, to ingratiate himſelf ſtill more with the Commonalty, immediately propoſed a Law, that all the ready Money which *Attalus* left ſhould be diſtributed amongſt ſuch poor Citizens as were to be Sharers of the publick Lands, for the better enabling of them to proceed in the Management and Cultivating of their Ground; and as for the Cities that were in the Territories of *Attalus*, he declared that the diſpoſal of them did not at all belong to the Senate, but the People, and that He Himſelf would ask their Pleaſure herein; by This he exaſperated the Senate more than ever he had done before, and therefore *Pompeius* ſtood up inſtantly, and acquainted the Senate that he was the next Neighbour to *Tiberius*, and ſo had the opportunity of knowing, that *Eudemus* the *Pergamenian* had preſented *Tiberius* with a *Royal Crown* and a *Purple Robe*, thereby intimating that *Tiberius* ſhould ere-long be King of *Rome*.

*Quintus Metellus* alſo upbraided *Tiberius*, that when his Father was *Cenſor*, the *Romans* never returned home from their Country-Houſes after Supper, but they put out their Torches, leſt they ſhould be ſeen to have indulged themſelves in Banquetting at unſeaſonable Hours. But inſtead of this decent Cuſtom, His common Practice was, to walk the Streets at Midnight, whilſt mean and inſolent Fellows flock'd to him, and made up his Retinue.

*Titus Annius*, a Man of no great Repute either for his Honeſty or Learning, but a cunning Sophiſter in propoſing cramp Queſtions, and returning Anſwers, offered to prove by undeniable Arguments, that *Tiberius* had done unworthily in depoſing a *Roman* Magiſtrate, whom the Laws ever eſteemed ſacred and inviolable. The People immediately grew tumultuous, and *Tiberius* ſummoning

ſummoning a General Aſſembly, commanded *Annius* to appear and maintain That which he had aſſerted: But *Annius* being neither a good Logician, nor pretending much to Oratory, rather betook himſelf to his old way of asking ſome cunning ſort of Queſtions, and deſired that he might propoſe One or Two to *Tiberius*, before he entered upon the chief Argument. This Liberty being granted, and Silence proclaimed, *Annius* propoſed this Queſtion: *If You*, ſays he, *had a deſign to vilify and defame Me, and I ſhould apply myſelf to any Other Magiſtrate for Redreſs, and He ſhould come readily to my Aſſiſtance, would you for that reaſon fall into an extravagant Paſſion, and put him out of Commiſſion?* *Tiberius*, they ſay, being much ſurpriſed at the Queſtion, was wholly ſilent, though at other times his Readineſs as well as his Eloquence was always remarkable; yet now upon this account he thought it convenient to diſmiſs the Aſſembly.

Afterwards beginning to underſtand that his Behaviour towards *Octavius* had diſguſted the Populace as well as the Nobility (becauſe the Dignity of the Tribunes ſeemed to be violated, which had always continued 'till that Day very ſacred and honourable) he made a Speech to the People in Juſtification of himſelf, out of which it may not be improper to collect ſome Particulars, that we may thereby diſcern what Impreſſion ſuch Eloquence was able to make upon an Auditory. *A Tribune*, ſays he, *of the People is Sacred indeed, and ought to be inviolable, becauſe in a manner conſecrated to be the Guardian and Protector of them; but if he degenerates ſo far as to oppreſs the People, to retrench their Privileges, and take away all their Liberty of Voting; he then deprives himſelf of that honourable Station by the neglect of his Duty, for the ſake of which the Honour was beſtowed upon him; otherwiſe a Tribune might not think himſelf obnoxious, though he ſhould demoliſh the Capitol, or burn the Naval Magazines.*

*Certainly when He that is only guilty of such Extravagancies as These, can't be looked upon as a good Tribune; much less can He be so, who dares presume to diminish the Privileges of the People, because he ceases from that time to be the Peoples Tribune. Is it not very unreasonable, that a Tribune should have Power to imprison a Consul, if the People must have no Authority to degrade him when he uses that Honour which he received from them, to their Detriment? For the Tribunes, as well as the Consuls, are elected to that Dignity by the Peoples Votes. But the Kingly Government, which comprehends all sorts of Authority in itself alone, is confirmed with the greatest and most religious Solemnity imaginable, as being a Government which does most resemble That of Heaven. But the Citizens, notwithstanding This, deposed* Tarquin, *because of his Tyrannical Oppressions; and for the Injustice of one single Man, the ancient Government under Which* Rome *was built, was abolish'd for ever. What is there in all* Rome *so sacred and venerable as the Vestal Virgins, to whose Care alone the preservation of the eternal Fire is committed? yet if any One of them proves so unguarded as to depart from her Chastity, she is buried alive; for when they presume to commit any Offence against their Gods, they instantly lose that Veneration, which they claimed as Attendants in their Service; so likewise a* Tribune *should no longer be respected by the People as a sacred Person, when he offends against that Authority from whence he derives his Own.*

*We always esteem that Person legally chosen* Tribune, *who is elected only by the majority of Votes; and is not therefore the same Person much more lawfully degraded, when by a general Consent of them All, they agree to depose him. Nothing is so inviolable as Offerings consecrated to the Gods, and yet the People were never prohibited to make use of them, but suffered to remove and carry them wherever they pleased. They likewise whenever it has been thought convenient, have transferred the* Tribuneship, *as a sacred Present, from one Person to*

*Another;*

*Another; and as a certain Proof that this Office is neither inviolable or unchangeable, we know that many times, They who have been promoted to it have voluntarily ſurrendered, and deſired to be diſcharged.*

Thoſe were the principal Heads of *Tiberius*'s Apology; but his Friends apprehending the Dangers which ſeemed to threaten him, and thoſe Conſpiracies that were ſecretly contrived againſt him, were of Opinion, that the ſafeſt way would be for him to petition, that he might be continued Tribune for the Year enſuing. Which when he had obtained, he again endeavoured to oblige the People with other Laws, making the Years of ſerving in the War fewer than formerly, in granting the liberty of Appeals from the Magiſtrates to the People, and making the Bench of Judges, which 'till then conſiſted of Senators only, to be compoſed of an equal Number of Knights and Senators, endeavouring as much as in him lay to leſſen the Power of the Senate; which proceeded rather from Paſſion and Prejudice, than from any rational regard to Equity and the publick Good. When it came to be debated, whether theſe Laws ſhould be ratified, he was ſoon ſenſible, that his Adverſaries had the moſt Votes, (the People as yet being not got together in a full Body) and in ſuch Caſes, it was his Cuſtom to raiſe ſome Diſputes with his Fellow-Officers, out of deſign only to gain longer time; but failing in that Project alſo, he at length adjourned the Aſſembly 'till the Day following.

In the mean time he put on a Mourning Habit, and went into the *Forum*, where he made his Addreſſes to the People in an humble Poſture with Tears in his Eyes; and told them, *He had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that his Adverſaries would attempt in the Night-time to break open his Houſe, and murder him.* This work'd ſo ſtrongly with the Multitude, that Several of them erected Tents round about his Houſe, and kept Guard all Night for the Security of his Perſon. The next Morning as ſoon as it was light the Perſon who had the Charge

Charge of the Chickens, which the *Romans* obſerve in one ſort of their Divination, brought them forth, and toſs'd their Food before them. Of all Theſe One only offered to quit his Coop, which was not 'till he had been much provoked to it by the Feeder. When he was out he would not feed, but fluttering with his left Wing, and ſtretching out his Leg, ran back into the Coop. This put *Tiberius* in mind of another ill Omen, which had formerly happened to him; he had a very coſtly Head-piece, which he made uſe of when he engaged in any Battle, and into this piece of Armour two Serpents crawl'd, laid Eggs, and brought forth young ones; the remembrance of which made *Tiberius* more concerned at This, than otherwiſe he would have been. However he went towards the *Capitol*, as ſoon as ever he underſtood that the People were aſſembled there; but before he got out of the Houſe he ſtumbled upon the Threſhold with ſuch Violence, that he broke the Nail of his great Toe, inſomuch that Blood guſhed out of his Shoe. He was not gone very far, before he ſaw two Ravens fighting on the top of a Houſe, which ſtood on his left hand as he paſſed along; and though he was ſurrounded with an infinite number of People, a Stone happened to fall juſt at his Foot, beaten down (as it is probable) by the Ravens: Which Accident put a ſtop to Thoſe who were the boldeſt Men about him. But *Bloſſius* of *Cuma*, who happened to be then preſent, told him, *That it would be a ſhameful thing for* Tiberius, *who was the Son of* Gracchus, *the Grandſon of* Scipio Africanus, *and the* Protector *of the* Roman *People, to refuſe (for fear of a ſilly Bird) to promote the Intereſt of his Countrymen, who apply'd to him; and that his Adverſaries would repreſent his as the effect of a mean Spirit, and of a tyrannical Temper, which took a Pride in the frequent importunate Petitions of the People.* At the ſame time ſeveral Meſſengers came alſo from *Tiberius*'s Friends, to deſire his Preſence at the Capitol, and to acquaint him that all things went there accord-

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ing to Expectation. Indeed *Tiberius*'s firſt Entrance there was very pompous, and he was honourably received; for as ſoon as ever he appeared, his Friends welcomed him with loud Acclamations into the Capitol: And when he had taken his Place, they repeated their Expreſſions of Joy, and took care that no Perſon whatever ſhould come near to him, but his intimate Friends. *Mutius* then began to put the Buſineſs again to the Vote; but nothing was performed with the uſual Decency and Order, by reaſon of the Diſturbance which the Rabble made, by their preſſing forwards to get into the Capitol.

Whilſt theſe things were carried on in this Confuſion, *Flavius Flaccus*, a Senator, ſtanding in a Place higher than ordinary, but at ſuch a Diſtance from *Tiberius*, that when he could not make him hear, by reaſon of the tumultuous Noiſe, ſignified to him by certain motions of his Hand, that he had a Deſire to impart ſomething of Conſequence to him in private; *Tiberius* ordered the Multitude to make way for him, by which means (though not without ſome Difficulty) *Flavius* got to him, and informed him, that the Senators, ſeeing they could not prevail upon the Conſul to eſpouſe their Quarrel, had at length come to this final Determination amongſt themſelves, that They Themſelves would aſſaſſinate him; and to that purpoſe had a great Number of their Friends and Servants prepared to accompliſh it. *Tiberius* no ſooner communicated this Confederacy to Thoſe about him, but they immediately tuck'd up their long Gowns, broke the Halberts the Serjeants uſed to keep the Crowd off, into Pieces, with which they reſolved to oppoſe all Thoſe who ſhould come to aſſault them. They who ſtood at a Diſtance wondered, and demanded what the Occaſion of that Diſorder might be; *Tiberius* knowing that they could not hear him at that Diſtance, lifted his Hand to his Head, thereby intimating the great Danger which he apprehended himſelf to be in: His Adverſaries taking notice

notice of that Action, ran presently to the Senate-House, and declared, that *Tiberius* desired the People to bestow a Crown upon him, that he might be King of *Rome*. This being very surprising, *Nasica* presently required the Consul to punish this Tyrant, and defend the Government, as by Law establish'd. The Consul mildly reply'd, *That he would not be guilty of an unjust Action; and as he would not suffer any Freeman to be put to Death, before Sentence had lawfully passed upon him, so neither would he protect* Tiberius, *if by his Insinuation the People should act any thing contrary to Law.* But *Nasica* rising from his Seat in a great Passion, *Since the Consul*, says he, *regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every one who will defend the Dignity and Authority of their Laws, follow Me.* He then casting the Skirt of his Gown over his Shoulder, hastened to the Capitol: They who bore him Company, wrapped their Gowns also about their Arms, and forced their way after him: In Consideration of their Dignity and Power in the City, Few or None were so hardy as to obstruct their Passage, but were rather so careful in avoiding 'em, that they tumbled over one another in haste. Some had furnished themselves with Clubs; Others got up the feet of Stools and Chairs, which were broken by the hasty flight of the common People. Thus armed they made towards *Tiberius*, knocking down all Those whom they happened to meet with; so that the People were soon dispersed, and Many slain, as they endeavoured to make their Escape.

*Tiberius* seeing these things, thought it his best way to save himself by flight: As he was running, he chanced to be stopped by one who catched him hold by the Gown; but he presently getting clear of That, fled in his under-Garments only. In this hasty Flight it happened, that falling over Those who had been knocked down before, as he was endeavouring to recover himself, one *Publius Satureius*, a Tribune, was observed to give him the first fatal stroke, by hitting him upon the Head

Head with the Foot of a Stool: The next Man who ſtruck him, was *Lucius Rufus*, who afterwards boaſted of it, as an honourable Exploit. In this Tumult there were above three hundred Men ſlain, with Clubs and Staves only, there being no *Warlike Inſtruments* made uſe of. This was the firſt Inſurrection amongſt the *Romans*, that ended with the effuſion of Blood, ſince the Abrogation of Kingly Government; for all former Seditions, which were neither ſmall, nor about trivial Matters, were always amicably compoſed, the two Parties conſtantly ſubmitting to one another, either the Senate for fear of the Commons, or the Commons out of reſpect to the Senate. And it is probable indeed that *Tiberius* himſelf might then have been eaſily brought to Submiſſion, if he had not been proceeded againſt in ſuch a rigorous manner; for he had not at that time above three thouſand Men of his Party: But it is evident, that this Conſpiracy was fomented againſt him, more out of an Averſion and Malice which the rich Men had to his Perſon, than for the Reaſons which they commonly pretended againſt him: In teſtimony whereof, we may alledge the Cruelty and unnatural Inſults uſed to his dead Body; for they would not ſuffer his own Brother, tho' he earneſtly begged the Favour, to bury his Corps in the Night, but threw it together with other Carcaſes into the River. Neither did their Cruelty ſtop here; for they baniſhed ſome of his Friends without legal Proceſs, and ſlew as Many of the reſt as they could lay their Hands on; amongſt Whom *Diophanes* the Orator was ſlain: They murdered one *Caius Billius*, by ſhutting him up cloſe in a large Tun with Vipers and Serpents: *Bloſſius* of *Cuma* was indeed carried before the Conſuls, where he was examined touching what had happened, and freely confeſſed, That he had never failed to execute whatever *Tiberius* commanded him: *What*, replied *Naſica*, *then if* Tiberius *had commanded thee to have burnt the Capitol, thou wouldſt have done it?* His firſt Anſwer was, *That* Tiberius *was incapable*

*incapable of commanding any ſuch thing:* But being preſſed with the ſame Queſtion by ſeveral Others, he declared, *That if* Tiberius *had commanded it, he would not have thought it an inglorious Action to have done it; for he never commanded any thing but what he thought for the Advantage of the People.* Notwithſtanding all This *Bloſſius* was pardoned, and ſoon afterwards withdrew to *Ariſtonicus* in *Aſia*, whoſe Fortune being then reduced to a deſperate Condition, he killed Himſelf. However the Senate, to mollify the People after theſe Tranſactions, did not oppoſe the Diviſion of the publick Lands, but permitted them to chooſe another Commiſſioner for that Buſineſs in the room of *Tiberius:* So they elected *Publius Craſſus*, who was allied to *Tiberius*, for his Daughter *Licinia* was married to his Brother *Caius*. *Cornelius Nepos* indeed ſays, that ſhe was not the Daughter of *Craſſus*, but of that *Brutus* who triumphed for his Conqueſts in *Luſitania:* But moſt Hiſtorians are of the ſame Opinion with Us. Afterwards the People were much concerned for the Loſs of *Tiberius*; and it was apparent, that they wanted nothing but a convenient Opportunity to be revenged, and even threatned *Naſica* with an Impeachment. The Senate fearing leſt ſome Miſchief ſhould befal *Naſica*, ſent him Ambaſſador into *Aſia*, though there was no occaſion for his going thither. The Common People did not conceal their Indignation even in the open Streets, but railed at him, whenever they met him abroad, calling him a Murderer and a Tyrant, One who had polluted even the Temple itſelf with the Blood of a Tribune. Upon this Conſideration *Naſica* left *Italy*, although he was obliged, being the Chief-Prieſt, to officiate in all principal Sacrifices: Thus wandring full of Diſcontent and Affliction from one Place to another, he died in a ſhort time after not far from *Pergamus*. It is no wonder that the People had ſuch an averſion to *Naſica*, when even *Scipio Africanus*, who, though deſervedly beloved by the *Romans*, was in danger of loſing the good Opinion which the People

People had of him, only for repeating, when the News of *Tiberius*'s Death was firſt brought to *Numantia*, this Verſe out of *Homer*:

Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

*So may He periſh, who ſuch Crimes commits.*

And afterwards being aſked by *Caius* and *Fulvius*, in a great Aſſembly, what he thought of the Death of *Tiberius*, he returned ſuch an Anſwer as made it evident that he did in no wiſe approve of *Tiberius*'s Proceedings. The People were ſo much offended hereat, that from that time forward they always interrupted him in the middle of his Orations, which they had never preſumed to do before: and He on the other hand was ſo incenſed at it, that he reflected very ſmartly upon the People. But of theſe Particulars I have given a full Account in the Life of *Scipio*.

# THE LIFE OF *CAIUS GRACCHUS.*

CAIUS *Gracchus* at first, either for fear of his Brother's Enemies, or designing to render them more odious to the People, absented himself from their publick Assemblies, and quietly retired to his own House, as if he was a Person, to whom such private Circumstances were not only very agreeable at present, but that he was content to pass the Remainder of his Life, without affecting any publick Action; which made Some imagine, that he abhorred and detested the Transactions of *Tiberius:* However he was now but very young, being not so old as his Brother by nine Years, who was scarce thirty when he was slain.

It was not long before he plainly discovered his Temper, having a natural Antipathy to a lazy Retirement and Effeminacy; nor in the least inclined to any sort of Luxury, or Covetousness. He wholly addicted himself to the study of Eloquence, as Wings whereby he might easily aspire to publick Business and Government; and

it was very apparent, that he did not intend to paſs his Days in obſcurity. When *Bettius*, a Friend of His, was impeached of high Miſdemeanors, and He undertook to defend his Cauſe, the People were in an Ecſtaſy, and tranſported with Joy, to find him at the Bar, and Maſter of ſuch Eloquence, that the other Orators ſeemed to talk like Children in compariſon to Him. This created new Jealouſies and Fears amongſt Thoſe in Authority, and their great Deſign was, how to hinder *Caius* from being made Tribune.

But it happened ſoon after, that he was elected Quæſtor, and obliged to attend *Oreſtes* the Conſul into *Sardinia*. This, as it pleaſed his Enemies, ſo it was not ungrateful to Him; for being naturally a ſtout Man, he was as well trained in the Art of War, as in That of Pleading. And beſides, as yet he very much dreaded meddling with State-Affairs, and appearing publickly in the *Roſtrum*, which (becauſe of the Importunity of Friends) he could no otherwiſe avoid, than by taking this Voyage, he therefore readily embraced the Opportunity of abſenting himſelf. Notwithſtanding which, Many are of Opinion, that he was always deſirous of the People's Favour, and more Ambitious than ever *Tiberius* had been, of popular Applauſe; but it is certain that it was rather Neceſſity than Choice that brought him into the Adminiſtration. Even *Cicero* Himſelf relates This of him, that whilſt he was ſhunning all publick Employments, and was reſolved to lead a private Life, his Brother appeared to him in a Dream, and calling him by his Name, ſaid; *To what purpoſe, Caius, are all theſe Delays? There is no poſſibility of avoiding that Fate, which is deſtined for us Two, Both to Live and Die alike, in Vindication of the People's Right.*

*Caius* was no ſooner arrived in *Sardinia*, but he gave exemplary Proofs of his Valour; for he not only excelled all the young Men of his Age, in his early Actions againſt his Enemies; in doing Juſtice to his Inferiors, and in ſhewing all Obedience and Reſpect to his ſu-

perior Officer; but likewise in Discretion, Frugality and Industry, he surpassed even Those who were much elder than Himself.

There happened this Year to be a sharp and sickly Winter in *Sardinia*, insomuch that the General was forced to lay an Imposition upon several Towns, to supply the Soldiers with necessary Cloaths: The Cities sent an Express to *Rome* with a Petition, to be excused from that Burden; the Senate found their Request reasonable, and ordered the General to find some other way of new Cloathing the Army. While he was long contriving what Course to take in this Affair, the Soldiers were reduced to great Extremities; but *Caius* went from one City to Another, and by laying before them the Reasonableness of that Demand, he so far prevailed with them, that of their own accord they cloathed the *Roman* Army. These Transactions being carried to *Rome*, and seeming to be the sure Forerunners of popular Ambition, raised new Jealousies among the Senators: And besides This, there came Ambassadors out of *Africa* from King *Micipsa*, to acquaint the Senate, that their *Master*, out of Respect to *Caius Gracchus*, had sent a considerable quantity of Corn to the General in *Sardinia*; at which the Senators were so much offended, that they turned the Ambassadors out of the Senate-house, and made an Order, that the common Soldiers should be relieved, by sending Others in their room; but that *Orestes* should continue upon the Place, not doubting but *Caius* would likewise think himself obliged to remain there with him, in Consideration of his Office. But He soon finding how Things were carried, fell into a great Passion, and immediately took Shipping for *Rome*: His Appearance there was so unexpected, that he was generally censured, not only by his Enemies, but also by the Commons; who thought it an unreasonable thing, that He being *Quæstor* should desert the Army before his Commander. When this Misdemeanor came to be tried before the *Censors*, he desired leave to make his Apology; which he did so effectually, that his Auditors quickly entertained a better

better Opinion of him, believing that he had been very much injured. He made it then appear, *that he had ſerved Twelve Years in the Army, whereas Others are obliged to ſerve only Ten*; *that he had continued* Quæſtor *to the General Three Years, whereas he might by Law have returned at the end of One*; *that none but He in that Expedition carried his Purſe full to the Army, and brought it back empty*; *and that the reſt having drank the Wine they had carried in their Veſſels, brought them back filled with the Riches and Spoils of the Country.* After This, they brought other Accuſations againſt him, for creating Differences amongſt the Allies, and for having been engaged in the Conſpiracy at *Fregella*; but he gave in ſo clear an Anſwer to all the Accuſations that he not only appeared wholly innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but made what Intereſt he could to be elected Tribune; in which, though he was generally oppoſed by all Perſons of Quality, yet there came ſuch infinite Numbers of People from all Parts of *Italy* to Vote for *Caius*, that many wanted Lodgings in the City; and the *Campus Martius* being not large enough to contain the Company, there were ſeveral who gave their Votes from Roofs and Battlements of Houſes: However the Nobility did ſo influence the People, and croſs *Caius*'s Expectations, that he was not returned the Firſt, (as was expected) but the fourth Tribune. However they got nothing by That, for he was no ſooner inſtalled in his Office but he became the Firſt. Beſides he was not only a much better Orator than any of his Cotemporaries; but the Concern which he ſtill retained for the Murder of his Brother, made him the bolder in ſpeaking. He uſed on all Occaſions to remind the People of what had happened in that Tumult, and laid before them the Examples of their Anceſtors; how they declared War againſt the *Faliſci*, only for giving ſcurrilous Language to one *Genutius*, a Tribune of the People; and ſentenced *C. Vulturius* to death, for taking the Wall of a Tribune in the Streets: *Whereas*, ſaid he, *theſe Perſons did, in the preſence of you all, murder* Tiberius *with Clubs, and*

*dragged the ſlaughtered Body through the middle of the City, to be caſt into the River; even his Friends, as many as could be taken, were put to death immediately, without any Trial, notwithſtanding that juſt and ancient Cuſtom, which was always obſerved among our Forefathers; that whenever any one was accuſed of a capital Crime, and did not make his perſonal Appearance in Court, a Trumpet was ſent in the Morning to his Lodging, to ſummon him to appear: And before this Ceremony was duly performed, the Judges would never proceed to paſs Sentence; ſo cautious and reſerved were our Anceſtors in Caſes relating to Life and Death.*

*Caius* having moved the People with ſuch Speeches, (for his Voice was loud and ſtrong) propoſed two Laws: The *firſt* was, *That whoever was turned out of any publick Office by the People, he ſhould be thereby rendered incapable of bearing Any afterwards.* The *ſecond*, That *if any Magiſtrate ſhall condemn a* Roman *to be baniſhed, without a legal Trial, the People ſhall be authoriſed to take Cognizance thereof.*

One of theſe Laws was manifeſtly levelled at *M. Octavius*, who, at the Inſtigation of *Tiberius*, had been deprived of his Tribuneſhip: The Other touched *Popilius*, who, in his Prætorſhip, had baniſhed all *Tiberius*'s Friends; whereupon *Popilius*, being unwilling to ſtand the hazard of a Trial, fled out of *Italy*: As for the former Law, it was abrogated by *Caius* Himſelf, who declared his readineſs to oblige *Octavius*, for the ſake of his Mother *Cornelia*: This was very acceptable and pleaſing to the People, who had a great Veneration for *Cornelia*, both in reſpect to her Father, and her Children; and therefore they afterwards erected a Statue of Braſs in Honour of her, with this Inſcription, Cornelia, *the Mother of the* Gracchi. There are ſeveral Expreſſions of his reported concerning her, as this to one of her Adverſaries: *How*, ſaid he, *dare you preſume to reflect upon* Cornelia, *the Mother of* Tiberius? And becauſe the Perſon who made the Reflections, had been ſuſpected for Sodomy, *With what Face*, ſaid he, *can you compare* Cornelia *with yourſelf?*

*yourself? Have you brought forth such Children as she has done? And yet all* Rome *knows, that she has refrained from the Conversation of Men, longer than yourself have done.* These, and many other such Satyrical Expressions, may be collected out of his Writings. He afterwards proposed several other Laws, to raise the People's Authority, and to detract from That of the Senate.

The First was concerning the publick Lands, which were to be divided amongst the poor Citizens.

Another was concerning the common Soldiers, that they should be cloathed at the publick Charge, without any diminution of their Pay; and that none should be obliged to serve in the Army, who was not full seventeen Years old.

Another gave an equal Liberty to all the *Italians* in general, of voting at Elections, as was granted to the Citizens of *Rome*.

Another was concerning the Price of Bread-corn, which was to be sold at a lower rate than formerly to the poor People.

Another was concerning Matters of Judicature, whereby the Authority of the Senate was very much retrenched.

For only Senators were formerly Judges in all Causes, by which means their Authority was very much dreaded by the *Roman* Knights, and the People: But he joined three hundred of the *Equestrian* Order with the Senators, who were three hundred likewise in Number; and ordained, That a judicial Authority should be equally invested in the six hundred. While he was arguing for the Ratification of this Law, his Behaviour was observed to be quite different from That of Others: For all other Orators in their Speeches used to turn their Faces towards the Senate-house, and the Place called *Comitium*: But He, on the contrary, was the first Man, that in his Harangue to the People, turned himself the other way towards Them, and after that time always observed the same Posture, Which however insignificant

that

that Turn might ſeem, yet it was the Cauſe of no ſmall one in State-Affairs: For He in a manner converted the Government from an *Ariſtocracy* to a *Democracy*, thereby intimating by that Action, That all Orators in propoſing State-Affairs, ought to ſpeak to the People, and not to the Senate.

As ſoon as the commonalty had ratified this Law, and given him Authority to elect Thoſe whom he approved of, to be Judges, he was inveſted with ſuch an abſolute Power, that the Senate ſubmitted to conſult with him in Matters of Difficulty; and he always took care to adviſe nothing, that might any ways derogate from the Honour of that Body. As for Example: His Reſolution about the Bread-corn, which *Fabius* the Proprætor ſent from *Spain*, was very juſt and honourable; for he perſuaded the Senate to ſell the Corn, and return the Money to the ſame Provinces which had furniſhed them with it; and alſo that *Fabius* ſhould be cenſured, for having rendered the *Roman* Government odious and inſupportable to the Provinces abroad. This Propoſal got him an Extraordinary Reſpect and Favour among the Foreign Provinces; beſides all This, he propoſed Ways for the repeopling of ſeveral ruinous Cities, for repairing the Highways, and for building publick Granaries. Of all which Works He himſelf undertook the Management and Superintendency; and was never wanting to give neceſſary Orders for the quick Diſpatch of great and difficult Undertakings; and that too, with ſuch wonderful Expedition and Diligence, as if each had been his only Care: Inſomuch that all Perſons, even Thoſe who hated or feared him, ſtood amazed to ſee how active and induſtrious he was in all his Deſigns. As for the People Themſelves, they were ſtrangely tranſported at the very Sight of him; eſpecially whenever they ſaw him ſurrounded with Crowds of Labourers, Artificers, Meſſengers, Officers, Soldiers and Scholars. All Theſe he treated with an eaſy Familiarity; yet always took care to ſupport his Dignity, even in his greateſt Condeſcenſions, accommodating his Carriage according to the Quality

lity of every particular Perſon, by which means he ſo far prevailed, that his Enemies were looked upon as no better than envious Detractors, when-ever they preſumed to repreſent him either dangerous, raſh, or guilty of the leaſt ill Nature.

He had that peculiar art of inſinuating himſelf, and gaining by degrees upon the Commonalty, that he became rather more Popular by his common Converſation, than by his publick Harangues.

But his greateſt Endeavour was to put the Highways into good Condition, always taking care to make them handſom and pleaſant, as well as convenient. They were drawn by his Directions, through the Fields, exactly in a ſtraight Line; ſome paved with hewn Stone, others covered with binding Sand, brought thither from the Places adjacent for that Purpoſe: When he met with any Vallies or deep Holes, occaſioned by great Floods, he either cauſed them to be filled up with Rubbiſh, or Arches to be thrown over, ſo well levelled, that they being of an equal height on both ſides, the whole Work made a beautiful Proſpect. Beſides This he cauſed the Ways to be all divided into Miles, (each Mile containing little leſs than eight Furlongs) and erected Pillars of Stone, to ſignify the diſtance from one Place to another: He likewiſe placed other Stones at ſmall diſtances from one another, on both ſides of the Way, by means whereof Travellers might get eaſier on Horſeback without the help of Servants. For theſe Reaſons, the People highly extolled him, and were ready upon all Occaſions to expreſs their Affection towards him. One Day, in an Oration to the People, he declared, *that he had only one Favour to requeſt; which, if granted, as he ſhould think it the greateſt Obligation in the World; ſo, if it were denied, he would never blame them for the Refuſal.* This Expreſſion made the World believe, that his Ambition was to be Conſul; and it was generally expected that he would be both Conſul and Tribune at the ſame time. When the Day for Election of Conſuls came, and All were in great Expectation, to ſee what would be the

Event

Event of that Day's Work; he appeared in the Field with *Caius Fannius*, and made all the Intereſt he could for Him, that He might be choſen Conſul. This Intereſt was ſo conſiderably uſeful to *Fannius*, that he was immediately declared Conſul; and *Caius* likewiſe was then elected Tribune the ſecond time, without his own ſeeking, or petitioning for it, but at the voluntary Motion of the People.

When he underſtood that the Senators were his declared Enemies, and that *Fannius* Himſelf was none of the trueſt Friends, he began again to flatter the People with other new Laws. He propoſed that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be ſent to Re-people *Tarentum* and *Capua*, and that all the *Latins* ſhould enjoy the ſame Privileges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate apprehending that he would at laſt grow too powerful and dangerous, took a new and unuſual courſe to alienate the Peoples Affections from him, by their gratifying them in things beyond what they could reaſonably expect. *Livius Druſus* was Fellow-Tribune with *Caius*, a Perſon of as good a Family, and as well Educated as Any amongſt the *Romans*, and no ways inferior to Thoſe, who for their Eloquence and Riches were the moſt Famous and Powerful Men of that time. To Him therefore the chief Senators make their Application, exhorting him to engage himſelf on their ſide in oppoſition to *Caius*, not by uſing any Force, or oppoſing of the common People, but in gratifying and obliging them with ſuch unreaſonable things, as might otherwiſe very well deſerve to be deteſted.

*Livius* offered to ſerve the Senate with his Authority in this Buſineſs, and in order thereunto enacted ſuch Laws as were in reality neither honourable nor advantageous for the Publick; his whole Deſign being to out-do *Caius* in pleaſing and cajoling the Populace (as Comedians do) with obſequious Flattery and Popularity; and the Senate gave plain Teſtimonies, that they were not at all diſpleaſed with *Caius*'s Management of Affairs, but his perſon, aiming either to ruin him utterly, or at leaſt

to

to leſſen his Reputation. For when *Caius* propoſed the Re-peopling of only two Colonies, and mentioned the moſt conſiderable Citizens for that purpoſe, they accuſed Him for abuſing the People; but on the contrary were pleaſed with *Druſus*, when he propoſed the ſending of twelve Colonies abroad and each to conſiſt of three thouſand Perſons, and Thoſe too the moſt beggarly Raſcals that he could find. When *Caius* divided the Publick Fields amongſt the poor Citizens, and charged them with a ſmall Rent, annually to be paid into the publick Treaſure, they were angry at Him, as One who pretended to gratify the People only for his own Intereſt; yet afterwards they commanded *Druſus*, though He exempted them from paying even that little Acknowledgment. Beſides they were diſpleaſed with *Caius*, for giving the *Latins* an equal Power with the *Romans*, of voting at the Election of Magiſtrates; but when *Druſus* propoſed, that it might not be Lawful for a *Roman* Captain to ſcourge a *Latin* Soldier, they promoted the paſſing of that Law: And *Druſus* in all his Speeches to the People, always told them, *That He propoſed no Laws but Such as were agreeable to the Senate, who had a particular regard to the Advantage of the People.* And This truly was the only Action during the time of his Tribuneſhip, which proved advantageous to the Publick; For the People were by This inclined to ſhew a more than ordinary Love and Reſpect to the Senate: And whereas they formerly ſuſpected and hated the Principal Senators, *Livius* appeaſed and mitigated all their Perverſeneſs and Animoſity, by perſuading them, that he had done nothing in Favour and for the Benefit of the Commons, without Their Advice and Approbation. But the greateſt Credit which *Druſus* got for his Kindneſs and Juſtice towards the People, was, that he never ſeemed to propoſe any Law either of his own Head, or for his own Advantage; for he committed the Charge of ſeeing the Colonies rightly ſettled, to other Commiſſioners: Neither did he ever concern himſelf with the Diſtribution of the Monies; whereas *Caius* always

reſerved

reſerved to Himſelf moſt of theſe Commiſſions, eſpecially Thoſe that were of the greateſt Importance.

When *Rubrius*, another Tribune of the People, had propoſed to have *Carthage* again Inhabited, which had been formerly demoliſhed by *Scipio*, it fell to *Caius*'s Lot to ſee the ſame performed, and for that purpoſe he ſailed into *Africa*. *Druſus* took this Opportunity of his Abſence to inſinuate himſelf ſtill more into the People's Affections, which he did chiefly by accuſing *Fulvius*, who was a particular Friend to *Caius*, and deputed a Commiſſioner with him for the Diviſion of the Lands. This *Fulvius* was a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and notoriouſly hated by the Senate; and beſides, he was ſuſpected by moſt of the *Romans* to have fomented a Difference between Them and their Confederates and underhand to have perſuaded the *Italians* to rebel; tho' there was no other way to prove the Truth of theſe Accuſations, than by his being a ſuſpicious Perſon, and of a ſeditious Temper. This was one principal Cauſe of *Caius*'s Ruin; for part of the Hatred which fell upon *Fulvius* devolved upon Him: And when *Scipio Africanus* happened to die ſuddenly, and unexpected, ſome marks of Blows appearing upon his Body, which intimated that he had been violently murdered, (as we have related in the Hiſtory of his Life) the greateſt part of the Blame was thrown upon *Fulvius*, becauſe he was his mortal Enemy, and that very Day had reflected upon *Scipio* publickly in the Tribunal; nor was *Caius* Himſelf clear from Suſpicion: However ſuch an horrible Murder, and committed too upon the Perſon of one of the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Men in *Rome*, was never either puniſhed or inquired into thorowly; for the People oppoſed and hindered the Proceedings of Juſtice, for fear that *Caius* ſhould be found acceſſary to the Murder; but theſe things happened ſome time after. Whilſt *Caius* was taken up in *Africa* in rebuilding, and re-peopling *Carthage*, (which he named *Junonia*) many ominous Prodigies which preſaged Miſchief, are reported to have been ſent from the Gods. For a ſudden guſt of

Wind

Wind falling upon the first Colours, and the Ensign holding it fast, the Staff broke: Another sudden Storm blew away the Sacrifices which were laid upon the Altar, and carried them over the Palisades that had been set up to mark out the Boundaries for the new City, and some Wolves in their Incursions carried off the Palisades themselves.

*Caius* in spite of all these unlucky Omens having regulated, and settled every thing in the space of seventy days, made what haste he could to return to *Rome*, where he understood that *Fulvius* was prosecuted by *Drusus*, and that the present Juncture of Affairs required his Presence. For *Lucius Hostilius*, who was a zealous Stickler for the Nobility, and had great Interest in the Senate, having the preceding Year stood for the Consulate, lost it through the Opposition raised by *Caius* in favour of *Fannius*. But he was not in a fair way of carrying his Point, for he was supported by a very numerous, and powerful Party; and it was generally believed, that if he did obtain it, he would wholly ruin *Caius*'s Interest, whose Power was already in a declining Condition; and the People were not so apt to admire his Actions as formerly, because there were several others who every Day contrived new ways to please the People, with which the Senate did readily comply. After his Return to *Rome*, he quitted his House on the *Palatine* Mount, and went to live near the *Forum*, thereby endeavouring to make himself more popular in those Parts, where most of the pitiful and meanest Inhabitants were lodged. In the next place he endeavoured to propose other Laws, in order to have them ratified by popular Votes; upon which account he convened a prodigious number of People from all the adjacent Places: But the Senate persuaded *Fannius* the Consul, to command all Persons, who were not Natives and Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City. A new and unusual Proclamation was thereupon made, prohibiting any of the Allies or Confederates to appear at *Rome*

during that time. *Caius* on the contrary publiſhed an Edict, accuſing the Conſul for what he had done, and ſetting forth to the Confederates, that if they would continue upon the Place, they might be aſſured of his Aſſiſtance and Protection. However he was not ſo good as his Word; for though he ſaw One of his own familiar Friends and Companions dragged to Priſon by *Fannius*'s Officers, he notwithſtanding paſſed by, without either aſſiſting him, or taking any Notice of him: Which he did, either becauſe he was afraid to ſtand the Teſt of his Power, which was already decreaſed, or becauſe he (as Himſelf reported) was unwilling to give his Enemies an opportunity, which they very much deſired, of making an Inſurrection. About that time there happened likewiſe a Difference between him and his Fellow-Officers upon this Occaſion: A Prize was to be fought before the People in the *Forum*, and moſt of the Magiſtrates erected Scaffolds round about, with an Intention of letting them for Advantage. *Caius* commanded them to take down their Scaffolds, that the poor People might ſee the Sport without paying any thing. But no Body obeying his Orders, he gathered together ſome Labourers, and overthrew all the Scaffolds, the very Night before the Prize was to be play'd, ſo that by next Morning the *Forum* was cleared, and the common People had an opportunity of ſeeing the Paſtime *gratis*. Upon this account, the Rabble eſteemed him as a Man of great Generoſity; but he very much diſobliged his Collegues, and the Action was looked upon as full of Raſhneſs and Preſumption.

This was thought to be the chief Reaſon that he failed of being a third time elected Tribune; not but that he had the moſt Votes, but becauſe his Collegues out of Revenge cauſed falſe Returns to be made. But as to this Matter there is not much Credit to be given: Certain it is, he very much reſented this Repulſe, and behaved himſelf with an unuſual ſort of Arrogance towards Some of his Adverſaries, who were joyful at his Defeat,

Defeat, telling them, *That all their Mirth was no better than a* Sardonian *Laugh; they being wholly in the dark, as to the Schemes he was forming.*

As ſoon as *Opimius* was choſen Conſul, they cancelled ſeveral of *Caius*'s Laws, and cauſed an Inquiry to be made into his Tranſactions at *Carthage*, omitting nothing which was moſt probable to enrage him, that from ſome effect of his Paſſion they might find out a colourable pretence to put him to Death. *Caius* at firſt bore theſe things very patiently; but afterwards, at the Inſtigation of his Friends, eſpecially *Fulvius*, he reſolved to raiſe Forces, and oppoſe the Authority of the Conſuls. His Mother *Cornelia* alſo is reported by Some to have aſſiſted in carrying on this Sedition, by ſending privately ſeveral Strangers into *Rome*, under pretence as if they came to be hired there for Harveſt-men; and ſhe acquainted her Son with this Project, by writing Letters to him in Cyphers: However it is confidently affirmed by Others, that *Cornelia* did not in the leaſt approve of theſe Actions.

When the Day came, in which *Opimius* deſigned to abrogate the Laws of *Caius*, both Parties met very early at the Capitol; and the Conſul having performed all the Rites uſual in their Sacrifices, one *Quintus Attyllius*, a Serjeant, carrying out the Entrails of the Beaſt, ſpoke to *Fulvius*, and his Friends who ſtood about him, *Ye factious Citizens, make way for honeſt Men.* Some report, that beſides this provoking Language, he extended his naked Arm towards them, which is reckoned as a piece of Scorn and Contempt. Upon This they preſently ſlew him, with a ſort of *Bodkins* or *Steel-pens*, which it is ſaid they had provided themſelves with for that Purpoſe. This Murder cauſed a ſudden Conſternation in the whole Aſſembly, and the Heads of each Faction had their different Reſentments of it: As for *Caius*, he was in a great Paſſion, and ſeverely reprimanded Some of his own Party, becauſe they had given their Adverſaries a colourable pretence to proceed againſt them, for which they had been ſo long watching: *Opimius* preſently

closing with this occasion, stood up, and excited the People to Revenge; but there happening a great Shower of Rain on the sudden, it put an end to the Business of that Day.

Early the next Morning the Consul summoned the Senate, and whilst He was dispatching Affairs in the House, the Corps of *Attyllius*, as it had been before concerted, was laid upon a Bier, and brought through the *Forum* to the Senate-House with loud Outcries and Lamentations. *Opimius* knew very well that this was all Design; however he seemed to be surprised, and wondered what the meaning of it should be; so that the Senators went out to enquire into the occasion of it; and standing round the Corps, they condoled the Person that was slain, and represented it as an inhuman and barbarous Action. Notwithstanding which this Scene produced quite different Sentiments in the Minds of the People than what had been expected, and intended by it. For it raised in them a Detestation of the Nobility, and exposed in its proper Colours the infamous Partiality of the Senators, who could without any Remorse assassinate *Tiberius Gracchus*, a Tribune of the People, in the very Capitol, and in the Execution of his Office, and throw his mangled Corps into the River: and now when so mercenary a Fellow as *Attyllius* a common Serjeant, who if he fell unjustly had no one to thank for it but Himself, when his Body lies exposed to publick View, They surrounded the Bier, lament his Fate, wash his Corps with their Tears, and pay uncommon Honours to his Obsequies; and all This with a design to undermine the only Person left, who was zealous for the Safety and Welfare of the People.

The Senators after some time withdrew into their House, where they immediately passed a Decree, enjoining *Opimius* the Consul to see that the Commonwealth suffered no Damage, and to make use of all his Power for the suppression of Tyrants. The Decree being passed, the Consul immediately commanded the Senators to arm themselves, and the *Roman* Knights to be

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in a readineſs very early the next Morning and every one of them to be attended with two Servants well-armed. *Fulvius* on the other ſide got together the Rabble, and prepared to oppoſe him. As *Caius* was returning from the *Forum*, he made a full ſtop juſt before his Father's Statue, and fixing his Eyes for ſome time upon it, remained in a deep Contemplation; at length he ſighed, let fall a few Tears, and departed. This made no ſmall Impreſſion upon Thoſe who ſaw it, and they began to upbraid themſelves, that they ſhould deſert and betray ſo worthy a Man as *Caius*. They therefore went directly to his Houſe, remaining there as a Guard about it all Night, but in a different manner from Thoſe who were a Guard to *Fulvius*; for They gave themſelves up to Noiſe and Debauch, *Fulvius* Himſelf prompting them to it by his own Example. For He got drunk firſt, and ſpoke and acted many things in his Cups very unbecoming a Man of his Character; on the other ſide, the Party which guarded *Caius* were very diligent, relieving one another by turns, and prudently forecaſting, as is uſual in all publick Calamities, what the Iſſue of things might be. As ſoon as Day-light appeared, *Fulvius*, who ſlept ſound after the Doſe he had taken the Night before, was with much Difficulty rouſed by his Party, who armed themſelves with Weapons which hung up in his Houſe, and had been formerly taken from the *Gauls*, whom he conquer'd in the time of his Conſulſhip, and being thus accoutred they marched with loud Cries and Menaces to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Aventine* Mount.

*Caius* could not be perſuaded to arm himſelf, but went out in his Gown, as if he had been going to the Aſſembly of the People, only he had a ſhort Dagger under it. As he was going out, his Wife came running to him at the Gate, holding Him with one Hand, and her little Son with the other, and addreſſed herſelf to him in the moſt tender manner following. *Alas* Caius, *I do not now part with you, as if you were going to make Speeches to the People, either as a Tribune or a Law-*

*giver; nor as if you were entering upon some glorious Expedition, wherein if the Chance of War should deprive Me of a Life so dear and precious, at least my Loss in that Case would be no less honourable than inconsolable. But now,* Caius, *you expose your Person to the infamous Murderers of* Tiberius, *and that too unarmed, choosing rather to suffer the worst of Injuries, than to be in a capacity of doing the least Yourself; wherein your Prudence is not so much to be commended as your Generosity, since the Death you are now running upon can be of no avail to your Country. Faction prevails; Violence and the Sword are now the only measures of Justice: Had your Brother fallen before* Numantia, *the Enemy would have been obliged by the Law of Arms to have given back what remained of* Tiberius; *but such is My hard Fate, that I probably must be an humble Suppliant to the Floods and to the Waves, that They would somewhere discover to my View their sacred Charge of your Relicks; for what Protection can we promise ourselves either from the Laws, or the Gods, since the Murder of* Tiberius? Whilst *Licinnia* was thus bewailing herself, *Caius* got gently and by degrees out of her Embraces, and marched on in Silence with his Friends that accompanied him. She endeavouring to lay hold of his Robe, fell prostrate upon the Earth, where she lay a long time speechless. At last her Servants seeing her in that Condition took her up, and convey'd her to her Brother *Crassus.*

*Fulvius,* when the People were gathered together in a full Body, by the advice of *Caius,* sent his youngest Son into the *Forum,* with an Herald's Wand in his Hand. He being a very handsom Youth, and modestly addressing himself, with Tears in his Eyes, and a becoming Bashfulness, humbly offered Proposals of Agreement to the Consul and the whole Senate. The major part of the Assembly were inclinable to accept of the Proposals; but *Opimius* was of Opinion, *that it did not become Them to send their Heralds and capitulate with the Senate; but to surrender themselves as Persons self-convicted, and endeavour to merit their Pardon by their Sub-*

*mission,*

*miſſion.* At the ſame time He commanded the Youth not to return, unleſs they would comply with theſe Conditions. *Caius*, as it is reported, was very forward to go and clear himſelf before the Senate; but none of his Friends conſenting to it, *Fulvius* ſent his Son a ſecond time to intercede for them as before. But *Opimius*, who deſired nothing more than to come to Blows, and decide the Matter with the Sword, cauſed the Youth to be apprehended, and committed into ſafe Cuſtody; and then with a ſtrong Body of Foot-Soldiers, and ſome *Cretan* Archers, he ſet upon that Party which was under the Command of *Fulvius*. The Archers did ſuch Execution, and wounded their Enemies ſo mortally, that they were ſoon put to Flight. *Fulvius* abſconded for a time in an old *Bagnio*; but ſhortly after being diſcovered, He and his eldeſt Son were ſlain together.

*Caius* was not obſerved to encounter any one; but extremely concerned at theſe Outrages, he retired to *Diana*'s Temple: There he attempted to kill himſelf, but was hinder'd by his faithful Friends, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*: They took his Sword away from him, and were very urgent that he would endeavour to make his Eſcape. It is reported, that before he quitted the Temple he fell upon his Knees, and lifting up his Hands to the Goddeſs, he prayed earneſtly that the *Romans*, as a Puniſhment for their Ingratitude and Treachery, might always remain in perpetual Slavery; for as ſoon as a Proclamation was made of a Pardon, they immediately deſerted him.

Whilſt *Caius* was endeavouring to make his Eſcape, he was ſo cloſely purſued by his Enemies, that they were juſt upon his Heels by that time he was got to the *Sublician* or *Wooden Bridge*. There his two generous Friends, who had never forſaken him, forced him to make the beſt of his way, whilſt They Two oppoſed his Purſuers; at the ſame time poſting themſelves at the Foot of the Bridge with Sword in Hand, they made ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance that no one could paſs 'till they were both killed on the Spot. *Caius* had no other Com-

panion

panion in his Flight but one of his Slaves called *Philocrates*. All indeed encouraged him, as they do Champions when they enter the Lists, but not a Man of them assisted him, or would so much as lend him a Horse, tho' he earnestly desired it, because his Enemies had gained Ground, and were just upon him. However, he had just time to get into a Grove consecrated to the Furies. There he was slain by his Slave, who when he had render'd that last Service to his Master killed Himself. Some say they were Both taken alive by their Enemies, and that *Philocrates* embraced his Master so close, that they could not wound *Caius* 'till they had slain Him.

They say, that when *Caius*'s Head was cut off, and carried away by one of his Murderers, One of the Friends of *Opimius*, called *Septimuleius*, met him, and forced it from him; because, before the Battle began, they had made Proclamation, that whoever should bring the Heads either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, he should, as a Reward, receive their weight in Gold. *Septimuleius* therefore having fixed *Caius*'s Head upon the top of his Spear, came and presented it to *Opimius* the Consul. They presently brought the Scales, and it was found to weigh above seventeen Pounds. But in this Affair, *Septimuleius* gave as great signs of his Knavery, as he had done before of his Cruelty; for having taken out the Brains, he filled the Skull with Lead. There were Others who brought the Head of *Fulvius* too; but did not receive the Reward, because they proved to be Persons very mean and inconsiderable.

The Corps of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, as well as of the rest who had been slain, to the number of three thousand Men, were all thrown into the River; their Goods were confiscated, and their Widows forbid to put themselves into Mourning: But they dealt more severely with *Licinia* the Wife of *Caius*, for they wronged Her even of her Jointure; and as an addition still to all their Inhumanity, they barbarously murdered *Fulvius*'s youngest Son, tho' he had not taken up Arms against them,

them, or been present in the Battle. His Crime was, he had proposed Articles of Agreement: For which he was first imprisoned, and then slain.

But That which enraged the common People beyond all these things, was, the Temple of Concord built at that time by *Opimius*, as if he gloried and triumphed in the Slaughter of so many Citizens: Wherefore some body, the Night after the Dedication of the Temple, placed the following Verse under the Inscription:

Ἔργον ἀφροσύνας, ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ.

*Folly to* Concord *has this Temple rais'd.*

This *Opimius* was the first, who during his Consulate presumed to usurp the Power of a Dictator, and condemned, without Trial, not only three thousand Citizens, but *Caius Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*: One of whom had triumphed, and been Consul; the Other far excelled all his Contemporaries in Virtue and Honour. Notwithstanding This, *Opimius* could not refrain himself from Extortion and Bribery; for when he was sent Ambassador to *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, he was there corrupted by Presents, and at his Return being shamefully convicted of it, he was hated and reproached by the common People: so that growing melancholy, and his Spirits sinking, his Infamy still increased with his Years.

It quickly now appeared to the World, what Respect and Veneration the People had for the Memory of the *Gracchi*. They ordered their Statues to be made, and fixed up in publick view; they consecrated the Places where they were slain, and brought thither the first Fruits of every thing, according to the Season of the Year, which they offered to their Memories. Many came likewise thither to their Devotions, and daily worshipped there, as at the Temples of the Gods.

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It is reported, that as *Cornelia*, their Mother, bore the loſs of her two Sons with a noble and undaunted Spirit; ſo in reference to the Temples built over the places in which they were ſlain, ſhe ſaid, *Their Memory deſerved ſuch Monuments.* She ſpent the reſt of her Days at a Country-Seat near Mount *Miſenum*, varying in nothing from her former way of Living. She was very much reſpected and beloved, and kept open Houſe for the Entertainment of all Strangers, having daily a great number of *Græcians* and Learned Men, who reſorted thither: Nor was there any foreign Prince but received Gifts from her, and preſented her again. Thoſe who were moſt converſant with her, were much pleaſed when-ever ſhe thought proper to entertain them with any Relation concerning her Father *Scipio Africanus*, and his way of Living. But it was very ſurpriſing to hear her make mention of her Sons, without any Tears or ſign of Grief; and to give a full Account of all their Deeds and Misfortunes, as unconcern'd, as if ſhe had been relating the Hiſtory of ſome ancient Heroes. This cauſed Some to imagine, that Age, or the greatneſs of her Afflictions, had made her delirious, and wholly inſenſible of her Calamities; But They who were of that Opinion, were ignorant that a noble Birth and generous Education adminſter infallible Remedies under the greateſt Afflictions; and that tho' Fortune may ſometimes ſtagger the Virtue of ſuch as have been ſo born and educated, in times of Proſperity; yet ſhe cannot force from them that Serenity and Reſolution, which never forſakes them in the Days of Adverſity.

## *The Compariſon of* Tiberius *and* Caius Gracchi *with* Agis *and* Cleomenes.

HAVING thus given an Account ſeverally of theſe Perſons, nothing remains but to take a View of them, in Compariſon with one another.

As for the *Gracchi*; the greateſt Detractors, and their worſt Enemies, could not but allow, that they had a Genius to Virtue, beyond all other *Romans*, which was improved alſo by a generous Education. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* ſeemed to have had better natural Parts, and a more ſolid Judgment; for though they wanted all the Advantages of good Education, and were bred up in thoſe very Cuſtoms, Manners, and Way of Living, which had for a long time corrupted Others, yet They were publick Examples of Temperance and Frugality.

Beſides, the *Gracchi* happening to live when *Rome* was in her higheſt Reputation for Honour and virtuous Actions, might juſtly have been aſhamed, if they had not inherited the Virtues of their Anceſtors: Whereas the other Two had Parents of different Morals; and though they found their Country in a ſinking Condition, and debauched, yet That did not quench their forward Zeal to what was Juſt and Honourable.

It is true, a great Inſtance of the Uprightneſs and Integrity of the *Gracchi*, and of their Contempt of Riches appears in This, that during the whole time of their Adminiſtration they kept their Hands clean, and free from the leaſt Imputation of Bribery. But *Agis* might very juſtly have reſented it, if any one had commended Him for not having wronged or defrauded any Man: He who diſtributed among his Fellow-Citizens his own Eſtate amounting to ſix hundred Talents in ready Money, beſides many other Articles of a conſiderable Value. And ſure Extortion muſt appear a Crime of a ſtrange Nature to Him, who eſteemed it a piece of Covetouſneſs,

neſs, to poſſeſs greater Riches than his Neighbours, though never ſo juſtly gotten.

Their Politicks likewiſe, and Tranſactions in reference to State-Affairs, were of a very different Nature. The chiefeſt things in general that the Two *Romans* commonly aimed at, was the Repairing of Cities, and mending of High-ways; and in particular, the moſt generous Deſign which *Tiberius* is famed for, was his Diviſion of the Lands amongſt the poor People: And *Caius* gained his greateſt Reputation, by the addition of three hundred of the Commonalty to the ſame number of Senators, inveſting them with an equal Authority.

Whereas the Alteration which *Agis* and *Cleomenes* made, was in a quite different manner. They did not redreſs things by little and little, and cure ſmall Diſtempers; for that would have been (according to *Plato*) like cutting off one of the *Hydra*'s Heads, which was the only means to increaſe the Number: But they made a thorow Reformation, and at once freed their Country from all Grievances; or to ſpeak more truly, they took away that Change, which was the Cauſe of all their Calamities, and ſo reſtored their City to its Ancient State.

To This may be added, that whatever the *Gracchi* attempted in the Government, they were conſtantly oppoſed in by the chief Men in the State. Whereas all thoſe great things which were firſt attempted by *Agis*, and afterwards conſummated by *Cleomenes*, were ſupported by the famous Authority of thoſe Ancient *Laws* concerning *Frugality* and *Levelling*, which were inſtituted by *Lycurgus*, ratified and confirmed by *Apollo*. It is alſo further obſervable, That from the Tranſactions of the *Gracchi*, the City of *Rome* received no Additions to her former Greatneſs; whereas by the Conduct of *Cleomenes*, *Greece* preſently ſaw, that *Sparta* exerted her Sovereign Power over all *Peloponneſus*, and ſhe ſtill ſought to enlarge her Dominions, with the greateſt Princes of that Age; deſigning by all her Warlike Actions, to ſet *Greece* at Liberty, from her Subjection to the

the *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, and reſtore her Government, as formerly, to the Race of *Hercules*.

Some obſervations may likewiſe be made upon theſe great Men from their different manner of dying. The *Gracchi*, fighting with their Fellow-Citizens, were Both ſlain, as they endeavoured to make their Eſcape; but *Agis* willingly ſubmitted to his Fate, rather than occaſion the Death of one of his Citizens. *Cleomenes* alſo being affronted and abuſed beyond all Patience, made an Effort towards Revenge, but failing of That generouſly fell by his own Hand.

But on the contrary we muſt conſider, that *Agis* never did a great Action worthy a Commander, being prevented by an untimely Death. And as for all the brave Actions of *Cleomenes*, we may juſtly compare with them That of *Tiberius*, when he was the Firſt who ſcaled the Walls of *Carthage*. To which may be added likewiſe, the Peace which he concluded with the *Numantines*, by which he ſaved the Lives of twenty thouſand *Romans*, who otherwiſe had certainly been cut off. As for *Caius*, both in This War with the *Numantines*, and in *Sardinia*, he gave extraordinary Inſtances of his Valour; ſo that had not thoſe two Brothers been cut off when they were young, they might have ſtood in Competition with the moſt renowned Generals among the *Romans*.

If we conſider their Conduct in point of Government, we ſhall find that *Agis* held the Reigns with too gentle and remiſs a Hand; for he ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by *Ageſilaus*; he fruſtrated the Expectations of the Citizens, as to the *Diviſion* of the *Lands*; and was conſtrained to leave all his Deſigns imperfect and unfiniſhed, only for want of a manly Reſolution. *Cleomenes*, on the contrary, acted more boldly and boiſterouſly in all his publick Tranſactions, and unjuſtly ſlew the *Ephori*, whom he might have gained over to his Party by the dint of his Authority, which was ſuperior to Theirs, or at the worſt have baniſhed them as he did ſeveral Others of the City: For to cut off any Members,

unleſs in the extremeſt Neceſſity, is neither the part of a good Chirurgeon, nor a Politician, but argues Unſkilfulneſs in Both; and in the latter, Cruelty is added to Injuſtice.

Neither of the *Gracchi* were forward to be engaged in a Civil War; and *Caius* is reported to have avoided all manner of Revenge, even when his Life was aimed at, ſhowing himſelf always Valiant againſt a Foreign Enemy, but wholly unactive in a Sedition. This was the Reaſon that he went from his own Houſe unarmed, and was not preſent in the Battle; which makes it evident, that he was provided rather, not to do any harm to Others, than not to ſuffer any Himſelf. Even the very Flight of the *Gracchi* muſt not be looked upon as an Argument of their mean Spirit, but an Honourable Retreat from endangering of Others: For if they had ſtaid, they muſt either have yielded to Thoſe who aſſaulted them, or elſe have fought in their own Defence. The greateſt Crime that can be laid to *Tiberius*, was the depoſing of his Fellow-Tribune, and ſtanding Himſelf for that Office a ſecond time. And as for the Death of *Attyllius*, it is falſly and unjuſtly attributed to *Caius*; for as the Fact was committed without his Approbation, ſo was it much regretted and reſented by him.

On the contrary, *Cleomenes* (not to mention the Murder of the *Ephori*) ſet all the Slaves at Liberty, and governed by Himſelf alone in reality; whilſt he made a ſhew of dividing the Power with his Brother *Euclidas*, whom he had called to the Throne to ſave Appearances, tho' even That was contrary to the Law, for he was of the ſame Family with Himſelf. He wrote indeed to *Archidamas*, the only Perſon who had a Right to reign in Conjunction with him, as being the Heir of the other Family, and perſuaded him to return home from *Meſſene*. But He being ſlain immediately upon his Arrival, *Cleomenes* cauſed no Inquiry to be made into the Fact, in order to call the Murderers to Account, which made it ſuſpected that He Himſelf had a Hand in his Death; wherein

wherein he differed much from *Lycurgus*, whom he pretended to imitate. For *Lycurgus* freely ſurrendered to his Nephew the Kingdom committed to his Charge, and apprehending that in caſe the Youth ſhould die by Sickneſs, or any other Accident, He might be ſuſpected to have been acceſſary to his Death, he condemned himſelf to a voluntary Exile, and did not return 'till his Nephew had a Son to ſucceed him. But among all the *Grecians* where ſhall we find a Perſon comparable to *Lycurgus?*

We have made it appear that the Adminiſtration of *Cleomenes* was blemiſhed with greater Innovations, and more flagrant Acts of Injuſtice. Wherefore They, who take upon them to cenſure the Actions both of the One and the Other, charge *Agis* and *Cleomenes* with having from the Beginning been hurried on by a Spirit of Tyranny and Contention, whereas the greateſt Maligners of the *Gracchi* charge them only with an Exceſs of Ambition, and confeſs that the Heat of Contention wrought them up above their natural Temper, and like impetuous Winds drove them upon thoſe Extremes in Government which were inexcuſable. What could be more juſt and honourable, than their firſt Deſign, had not the Power and the Faction of the Rich, by endeavouring to abrogate that Law, engaged them Both in thoſe fatal Quarrels; the One, for his own Preſervation; the Other, to revenge his Brother's Death, who had been murdered without any Law or Juſtice?

From the Account therefore which has been given, you yourſelf may perceive the Difference; which if it were to be pronounced of every one ſingly, I ſhould affirm *Tiberius* to have excelled them all in Virtue; that young *Agis* had been guilty of the feweſt Miſcarriages; and that in Action and Boldneſs *Caius* came far ſhort of *Cleomenes*.

# THE LIFE OF *Demetrius Poliorcetes.*

INgenious Men have frequently compared Arts and Learning to our Natural Senſes; and doubtleſs they were induced to do ſo from that Reſemblance which the One hath to the Other, in diſtinguiſhing between different Objects: But ſtill, we muſt allow the Precedence to Learning and Knowledge; for that the higheſt Attainments of Senſe arrive only to an exact diſtinguiſhing between mean and common Objects, as Black and White, Sweet and Bitter, Hot and Cold, Soft and Hard, and This too in an humble ſubſerviency to the Underſtanding, to which they make Reports according to the different impreſſions which they receive: Whereas ſkilful Arts and Sciences, having the more elevated Advantages of Inquiry and Reaſoning, do not only enable us to know what is moſt agreeable, but by a prudent Foreſight to abſtain from what is Evil, and prevent what may be Dangerous. Thus the wiſe Phyſician comes, by his ſucceſsful Art, not only to underſtand how to combat a preſent Diſtemper; but to ſecure the

the Health of his Patients for the future; and the artful Muſician does not only know how to avoid ungrateful Diſcords, but even from thoſe diſagreeing Notes to compound a wondrous Harmony.

But above All, Temperance, Juſtice and Prudence, the nobleſt of all the Moral Virtues, do not only aſſiſt us with the Knowledge of what is Honourable, Juſt and Good, but give us the Reverſe of the contrary Vices, which ought to be avoided, as diſhoneſt, unjuſt, and altogether diſadvantageous to us: And even This ſort of Knowledge of what is evil, is ſo neceſſary to the Prudent Conduct of human Life, that without it, there would be no Glory or Virtue in abandoning thoſe Evils which we did not know; ſince otherwiſe it muſt be attributed to the ſtupid Simplicity of ignorant Chance, and not to a wiſe and prudent Choice. It was for this Reaſon, that the ancient *Spartans* were uſed, in their moſt celebrated Feſtivals and Entertainments, to load their Slaves with prodigal Glaſſes, and then expoſe thoſe drunken Miſerables to the Publick View; that ſo the young Gentlemen of the City ſeeing the Deformity, and Antick Dreſſes into which that transforming Vice degrades human Nature, might, at the Expence of thoſe poor Wretches, imprint in their tender Minds an early Averſion to Debauchery. And tho' poſſibly it is but an indifferent Method, not very conſiſtent with Humanity, to chaſtiſe Vice in One, by forcing it upon Another, yet it will not be unacceptable, amidſt the great variety of Examples in this Book, to expoſe to the View of the World, a Pair or two of noble Lives, who being advanced in the triumphant Chariot of Sovereign Authority, have, by their own inconſiderate Folly and Imprudence, tumbled from the height of Fortune into great Extremities; and thereby have made themſelves great Examples of the Impotence and Danger of great Vices, even in the greateſt Men. There is a ſtrange Pleaſure in Variety, but yet I muſt aver, That my Deſign is not only to divert the Fancy of the Reader, by ſhewing a Diverſity of curious Figures, but to advantage him in

the management of his own Affairs; to which nothing can contribute more, than the eaſy way of being wiſe and virtuous at the Expence of other Mens Misfortunes; for as *Iſmenias*, the famous *Theban* Artiſt, was wont to ſhew his Scholars both the moſt excellent Maſters in Muſick and the verieſt Bunglers in the Science, that ſo they might imitate the One, and deſpiſe the Other; and *Antigenidas* was uſed to ſay, that ſuch young Gentlemen as applied themſelves to the attaining Skill in Muſick, would be more encouraged in their Induſtry by the Pleaſure they received from hearing ſprightly Airs and Compoſures, after they had been firſt tired with the dull Entertainments of common and unſkilful Muſicians; ſo it appears highly reaſonable, that the Examples of thoſe Lives, whoſe Vices and Follies have deſervedly expoſed them to the Cenſure of the whole virtuous World, ſhould raiſe in us a noble Emulation to imitate the Glories of ſuch Others, as wear the Illuſtrious Characters of Great and Good.

For this Reaſon, this Volume preſents the Reader with the Lives of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and *Antonius* the *Triumvir*: Two Perſons who have abundantly juſtified the Opinion of the Divine *Plato*, *that great Minds are apt to produce great Virtues, and as great Vices*: And that they may not ſeem unequally paired, theſe two great Perſons were equally Amorous and Intemperate, Warlike and Munificent, Sumptuous in their way of Living, and haughty in their Enterpriſes and Undertakings: Nor did Fortune ſeem to make any great Diſparity in their Deſtinies, for as during the whole Courſe of their Lives they were many times glorious and triumphant Victors, ſo were they alſo miſerably vanquiſhed; at one time they got Much, at another time they were forced to abandon All: Sometimes they were tumbled down from the top of their Glory, beyond even the Hope of almoſt a poſſible Recovery; and on the ſudden, beyond the Expectancy of Imagination, raiſed again to their former Dignity and Dominions: Nor were the Fatal Periods of their Lives without a Reſemblance, the One ending his unfortunate

unfortunate Days in a deplorable Captivity, and the Other, to avoid that lingring Misfortune, taking Sanctuary in the cold Embraces of a voluntary Death.

*Antigonus* had by his Queen *Stratonice*, the beautiful Daughter of *Corræus*, two Sons, the One after the Name of his Uncle he called *Demetrius*, the Other carried the Name of his Grandfather *Philip*, and died young. This is the moſt authentick Account, although Some have reported, that *Demetrius* was not the Son of *Antigonus*, but of his Brother; and that his own Father dying young, and his Mother being afterwards married to *Antigonus*, he was pleaſed to adopt Him.

*Demetrius*, who was one of the goodlieſt Princes of the World, tho' he was not altogether ſo tall as his Father *Antigonus*, yet he was of the largeſt Proportion; but withal he had a Face ſo delicate and exact, that the moſt curious Painter or Graver was not able to form any *Idea*, out of his own Imagination, comparable to thoſe Sweetneſſes, which every Feature of his inimitable Face had only peculiar to itſelf: There was ſomething, one knows not how to expreſs it, ſo ſoft, and yet ſo fierce, that it did at the ſame time appear both Charmingly tender, and Imperiouſly aſtoniſhing, challenging both an irreſiſtible Veneration, and a paſſionate Kindneſs; ſuch a mixture of Majeſty, Youth, Beauty and Vivacity, as gave him one of the moſt auguſt and noble Airs in the World. Nor did his outward Adornments at all contradict the inward Inclinations of his Nature, there was no Perſon who had ſo great an Art to render himſelf both loved and feared; for as he was the moſt eaſy and agreeable Perſon in his Converſation, the moſt ſplendid in his Entertainments, and in ſhort, one who indulged himſelf and his Friends in the utmoſt Liberty and Freedoms in the Enjoyment of Pleaſures, ſo was he, of all the Princes of his Age, the moſt vigilant, dexterous, and active in the Proſecution of his martial Affairs; ſo that his whole Life ſeemed divided between the Love of Pleaſure and Glory; herein propoſing to himſelf the

Example

Example of *Bacchus*, the Divinity he chiefly adored, equally famous for his ſucceſsful Achievements in the time of Action, and his luxuriant Gaieties in the Leiſure of Peace.

He was a moſt paſſionate Lover of his Father *Antigonus*, and the natural Tenderneſs and Deference which he had for his Mother obliged him, for her ſake, to redouble that Love, which it was evident was not ſo much owing to Fear, or barely Duty, as the more powerful Ties of Choice and Inclination: Inſomuch that it is reported, that returning one Day from hunting, he went up immediately into the Apartment of *Antigonus*, who had newly given Audience to certain foreign Ambaſſadors, and after he had made his Obeiſance to *Antigonus*, who tenderly careſſed and kiſſed him, he repoſed himſelf upon one of the Chairs, ſtill holding the Javelins in his Hand, which he had brought with him from the Chace; whereupon *Antigonus*, who had juſt diſpatched the Ambaſſadors, commanded them to be again introduced, and ſhewing them his Son in that free Poſture and Equipage, *You may, my Lords*, ſaid he, *if you ſo pleaſe, relate to your Maſters, above what you have already recived in Commiſſion, after what manner of unjealous freedom my Son and I live together:* By this Action informing them, that this was no ſlender Mark of the Power and Security of a Government, where there was ſo perfect a good Underſtanding between the Prince reigning and his Heir apparent; and that whereas commonly unſociable Majeſty is ſurrounded with Armed Guards, and inward Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, it was the Glory of the Greateſt of all the Succeſſors of the mighty *Alexander*, that He had the Happineſs to be ſo perfectly aſſured of his Son, that he could without difficulty permit him the freedom of coming thus armed into his Preſence. And to ſpeak the Truth, among all the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, That of *Antigonus* was the only Houſe, which for many Deſcents was exempted from bluſhing, with the ſhedding of their own Royal Blood; and whereas in this Illuſtrious

trious Family, only *Philip* was guilty of the Death of his Son, all the Reſt afforded frequent Examples of Fathers who brought their Children, Huſbands their Wives, Children their Parents, to untimely Funerals; and for the Brothers to diſpatch each other was ſo common, that as Mathematicians lay down to themſelves certain firſt Principles, ſo This was eſteemed by Them as a Maxim, to aſſure themſelves of the Royal Diadem, by ſacrificing their Brothers to the Fears and Jealouſies of their proving dangerous Rivals to their Sovereignty.

But that we may the better underſtand the excellent Temper of the young *Demetrius*, and what juſt and honourable Sentiments in his early Years he had of Friendſhip, we muſt recount an odd Adventure which paſſed betwixt Him and *Mithridates* the Son of *Ariobarzanes*. This young Prince, who was about the ſame Age with *Demetrius*, was educated in the Court of *Antigonus*; and although he had the Reputation of an innocent and undeſigning Perſon, yet could he not avoid falling into the Diſpleaſure of *Antigonus*, who became extremely ſuſpicious of him by reaſon of a Dream which he had one Night concerning him; for in his Sleep, Imagination, which then moſt abuſively plays the Wanton with us, when ſhe has put all our Senſes, the Servants of Reaſon, into their downy Manacles, preſented *Antigonus* with this fantaſtick Scene: He thought himſelf in a fair and ſpacious Field, where he ſowed Golden Seed, from whence he ſaw a moſt wondrous Crop of that ſhining Metal immediately to ſpring, and ſucceſſively to grow up to that Maturity to hang its ripened Heads, ready to bow to the fatal ſtroke of the Sickle; that ſhortly after, returning in high Expectancy to reap the tempting Harveſt, he found it all cut down, and nothing left but chaff and ſtubble; whereupon extremely diſcontented at the unexpected Diſappointment, he thought he overheard certain Perſons diſcourſing that it was *Mithridates*, who having reaped the Golden Harveſt, was returned with it into the Kingdom of *Pontus*. *Antigonus*, ſtrangely perplexed with this Dream, related

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it to the Prince, and having firſt obliged him, by whatever was ſacred, not to diſcover his Intention, acquainted him with the Reſolution he had taken againſt the Life of *Mithridates*. *Demetrius* was moſt ſenſibly touched with this cruel Reſolution of *Antigonus* againſt an Innocent Prince, his Familiar, his Confident, Companion, and Friend, not knowing how to manage himſelf with Innocence, betwixt his Friendſhip to the Prince, and his Promiſe to his Father; but the next Morning *Mithridates* coming according to his Cuſtom to divert himſelf with *Demetrius*, he drew him aſide from the Company, and without opening his Lips, with the Point of his Javelin he traced theſe two Words in the Duſt, obliging *Mithridates* to read them, "*Fly* Mithridates;" and without further notice, putting them out with his Foot they returned to their Company, and purſued their accuſtom'd Divertiſements and Sports.

*Mithridates*, who was very apprehenſive, eaſily perceived by this Artifice that ſomething fatal was determined againſt him by *Antigonus*; and therefore ſecretly getting away that very Night, he quitted the Court, and made his Eſcape into *Cappadocia*, where reſolving to be revenged of *Antigonus* for this intended Perfidy, he immediately raiſed a numerous Army, and not long after accompliſhed the Dream of *Antigonus*, whom, by the Force of his Armies, he deſpoiled of many large Provinces and Territories; and by his great Succeſſes eſtabliſhed the Royal Houſe of *Pontus*: The laſt of his Race and Name, and the eighth in lineal Succeſſion from him, being that unfortunate *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, whoſe Deſtiny ſo lately made an addition to the Triumphs of the irreſiſtible *Roman* Eagles.

This may ſerve for a Specimen of the early and uncommon Generoſity and Honour of *Demetrius*; but it was not long before his boiling Youth, tranſported with the ardent Deſire of Fame and Glory, met with nobler Occaſions of ſignalizing his Courage and his Arms; for as *Empedocles* obſerved, that there was a continual Hoſtility among the four Elements which compoſe the Univerſe,

verſe, every one of them ſtill combating with his Neighbour, and all of them continually ſtriving to enlarge the Boundaries of their Empires; ſo did it happen among the potent Succeſſors of the great *Alexander*, betwixt whom, eſpecially Thoſe whoſe Dominions lay contiguous, there was an eternal Jealouſy, and almoſt perpetual Wars: For *Antigonus*, who kept his Reſidence in the Metropolis of *Phrygia*, upon Advice that his Neighbour *Ptolemy*, having paſſed from the Iſland of *Cyprus*, did with a potent Army invade *Syria*, and had reduced moſt of the conſiderable Places in that Country under his Obedience, either by Force or Compoſition; he diſpatched his Son *Demetrius*, not then much above the Age of twenty two Years, at the Head of a gallant Army, to put a ſtop to the Succeſſes of the victorious *Ptolemy*: This was the firſt time that he had appeared in Arms as an Abſolute General and Commander; and our young Captain, whoſe Heat was ſomething too diſproportionate to his Conduct, with mighty Eagerneſs and haſty Marches advanced with his Army to ſeek his Enemy; and receiving Intelligence that *Ptolemy* was with all his Forces ſat down before *Gaza*, he marched directly thither. Upon his Approach *Ptolemy* drew off his Army from the Siege, being as willing as *Demetrius* was haſty to put the matter to the fatal Deciſion of the Sword: But here Fortune, who was betimes reſolved to ſhew her Inſtability, was not at all propitious to *Demetrius*; for after a cruel Battle, which was obſtinately maintained by *Demetrius* with the loſs of five thouſand of the moſt valiant of his Soldiers, he was compelled to reſign the Victory and the Field to *Ptolemy*, who took, beſides eight thouſand Priſoners, all in Arms, Carriages, Ammunition, and his Camp, which was exceeding rich: Nor was it at all ſtrange, that a young Prince of ſo ſlender Experience in Military Affairs ſhould be vanquiſhed by an old experienced Captain in the Trade of War, and one trained up under the Diſcipline of *Alexander*, by whoſe prodigious Fortune even Victory herſelf ſeemed to be overcome, and to ſubmit tamely to his conquering Arms. How-

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ever *Ptolemy*, who was as truly Generous as he was Great, made a moſt honourable uſe of this Advantage, for he immediately returned all the rich Spoils of the Field, together with the enlarged Priſoners, with this Compliment to *Demetrius*, *That he had not combated with him for Riches, but for Glory and Empire.*

*Demetrius* was infinitely ſurpriſed at this unexpected Generoſity, and one might ſee the warm Blood mount into his Face, to be a ſecond time vanquiſhed by this obliging Civility of *Ptolemy*, which was more inſupportable than what he had ſuffered by his Arms; but as ſoon as he had a little recovered the Diſorder, into which this Action had put him, *May the Gods*, cried he, *accord me this only Bounty, that I may not long be indebted to* Ptolemy, *but that it may one day come within my Power to return him the ſame Compliment and Favour, which he hath now put upon me.*

It might well be expected the Diſgrace of this Diſaſter to be defeated in the very Enterpriſe of his Arms, would have cooled the Courage of our young Warrior; and poſſibly few Perſons of his Age would have been able to ſupport ſuch a notable Overthrow, with ſo much Temper: But *Demetrius*, who was a very extraordinary Perſon, demeaned himſelf upon this Occaſion even to Admiration; rather like an old Captain, who had been long acquainted with the Traverſes of a capricious and inconſtant Fortune, than a young and unexperienced Prince: For he ſet himſelf, with all the Application imaginable, to provide Arms and Magazines; to rally his diſperſed Troops, to reinforce them with Recruits, and to exerciſe his new Levies in the Diſcipline of War; he ſtrengthened all the conſiderable Garriſons, and with unwearied Diligence performed all the Duties of an expert General, and by his Example infuſed new Life and Courage into the Hearts of his Soldiers, inſomuch that They, who before were almoſt ready to preſent the Conqueror with the Keys of thoſe Cities which they were to defend, now put on Reſolutions, not to part with an Inch of Ground, which *Ptolemy* ſhould not purchaſe

chaſe with the hazard of his Life. When the News of this Defeat was brought to *Antigonus*, he received it without any greater Emotion, than ſaying, Ptolemy *has indeed got a Victory over a Company of Youths, but ere-long he ſhall find that he muſt combat with Men*: Intimating, that ſhortly he would undertake the Management of the War in his own Perſon. But *Demetrius* ſending to beg the Favour of him, that he might once more throw the Dye of War, and command the Army againſt *Ptolemy*; *Antigonus*, who feared leſt the Diſgrace of being denied, might more abate the Courage of the Prince than the Loſs of the former Battle, ſent him a new Commiſſion to execute the Office of an abſolute General.

Not long after *Cilles*, *Ptolemy*'s Lieutenant-General, with a powerful Army took the Field, and looking upon *Demetrius*, ſince his laſt Overthrow, as the Commander of a baffled and half-vanquiſhed Army, he had in his Imagination driven him out of *Syria*, before he ſaw him: But he quickly found himſelf deceived; for *Demetrius* by haſty Marches came ſo unexpectedly upon him, that he ſurpriſed the General and his Army, making Him, and ſeven thouſand of the principal Officers and Soldiers, Priſoners of War, before they heard of his Approach: The whole Booty of the Camp, which was very rich, fell likewiſe into his Hands; but it was not That which gave *Demetrius* any Satisfaction, comparable to the Pleaſure which he took, when, by this Advantage, he found himſelf in a Condition to be generouſly revenged upon *Ptolemy*, for his laſt obliging Courteſy. However *Demetrius* in this Affair was reſolved to comport himſelf according to his Duty, and therefore he diſpatched an Expreſs to *Antigonus* to give an Account of his Succeſs, and to receive his Directions and Commands, how to diſpoſe of his Conqueſt. *Antigonus*, who was moſt ſurprifingly tranſported with Joy at this unexpected News, and not leſs at the Noble Inclinations of his Son, immediately returned him an Anſwer, that he left him intirely at his own Freedom and Diſcretion,

to make what Uſe he pleaſed of the Victory which he had gained. *Demetrius* was overjoyed with his Commiſſion, which was ſo agreeable to his Wiſhes; and therefore ſending for *Cilles*, he not only gave him his Own, and the Liberty of all the Priſoners, but diſmiſſed them loaden with magnificent Preſents, and the Admiration of his Generoſity; deſiring *Cilles* to oblige him with carrying this Meſſage to *Ptolemy*, *That he made him that ſmall Preſent, in return of the Favours he had received from him at* Gaza.

This Victory was ſo cloſely followed by *Demetrius*, that in a little time he obliged *Ptolemy* to abandon *Syria*; and having reſettled the Affairs of that Province, he haſted to return into the Arms of his Father, who then kept his Reſidence at *Celene*: So ſoon as *Antigonus* was advertiſed of his Approach, he had not the Patience to attend the ſhort Delay of his coming, but with a noble Train he immediately left the City, and went to meet the Prince; and with what Careſſes and Indearments ſuch an indulgent Father entertained a Son ſo hopeful and promiſing, is difficult to imagine, but impoſſible to expreſs; but he conducted him home in great Triumph, amidſt a thouſand Acclamations and other ſigns of Joy, which ſeemed to be owing rather to his ſafe Return than the proſperous Succeſs of his Arms.

But it was not long before *Antigonus* was forced to loſe the Satisfaction of his Converſation; being obliged to ſend him to reduce the *Nabathean Arabians*. In this Expedition *Demetrius* ran one of the greateſt Hazards of his whole Life; for the wild *Arabs* decoyed him into thoſe parched Deſarts, which afforded no manner of Subſiſtence, nor ſo much as a drop of Water to refreſh his Army; and having reduced him to this Extremity, they drew up their Forces to give him Battle: But when thoſe Barbarous People obſerved the Courage and Reſolution of the Prince, and that he was ſo far from being in the leaſt daunted at their Approach, that he rather ſeemed to fly like a hungry Lion upon the Prey, as if he had reſolved to quench the Thirſt of his Soldiers

diers with the Blood of his Enemies, they were so astonished, that consulting their Fear, they thought it fitter to commit their Safety to their Heels than Hands, and therefore with great Precipitation and Disorder they quitted the Field, leaving *Demetrius* not only possessed of the Victory, but of a very considerable Booty, amongst the rest seven hundred Camels with all their Lading of Water and other Provisions, with which he refreshed his Army, and safely retreated out of that scorched Country, more barbarous than its wild Inhabitants.

Not long after, *Seleucus*, whom *Antigonus* had formerly chased out of *Babylon*, having raised all the Forces he was able, with his Army invested that mighty City, and without much Resistance made himself Master of it; and elevated with this Success, he pushed on his good Fortune, and marched against the Countries next adjacent to Mount *Caucasus*, and the neighbouring *Indies*, hoping to subdue those Regions, and range them under his Dominion and Obedience.

*Demetrius* being advertised of this Expedition of *Seleucus*, and conjecturing that he had left *Mesopotamia* but slenderly guarded in his Absence, he passed the *Euphrates* with his Army, with such Secrecy and Expedition, that with his whole Power he had invested *Babylon*, before they had heard of the March of his Troops. He immediately commanded an Attack to be made upon one of the Citadels, which *Seleucus* had raised for the Security of that Important Place, which was performed with that Vigour and Resolution, that he carried the Fort; but finding himself not in a Condition to master the City, he left seven thousand Men in Garrison in the Fortress, and with the Gross of his Army retreated homewards; but in his Return he gave his Soldiers the Liberty to live at Discretion, who in their March took from the Inhabitants of those Countries, through which they passed, whatsoever they thought fit; by which ill Treatment of those People, though he did extremely enrich his Army, yet he impoverished his own Reputation, and lost the Affections of those Countries, who

ever after, by the ill Uſage they received from *Demetrius*, were the more firmly devoted to the Obedience of *Seleucus*, to whom he ſeemed to yield the Title of their Sovereign, by treating them like Enemies, and not his own Subjects.

In his Return having received Information that *Ptolemy* laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Halicarnaſſus*, he marched directly thither, and obliging him in ſome Diſorder to decamp, and retire from before it, he delivered that City from an imminent Danger, and by his Expedition and Succeſs in that Action brought a great Addition to the Reputation and Glory of his Arms.

And now *Demetrius*, burning with the ardent Deſire of Glory, had fixed his Deſigns upon an Enterpriſe, which was ſuitable both to his Own, and the Inclinations of his Father *Antigonus*; and That was to break the Yoke of Slavery, which *Caſſander* and *Ptolemy* had laid upon the Neck of the little *Græcian* Commonwealths, and to render thoſe Countries Maſters of their ancient Laws of Freedom; and certainly never any Princes undertook a War more generous and brave, ſince the only Motive that induced them to it, was the Glory to reſtore their Freedom to the miſerable *Græcians*, and that they undertook it wholly at their own Charges, and with the Treaſure which they had recovered from barbarous Nations, they attempted the Aſſiſtance of the moſt civilized and learned, tho' moſt oppreſſed People of the World. To effect this great Deſign, it was reſolved, at a Council of War, that the firſt Attempt ſhould be made upon the City of *Athens*; upon the Debate of which Point, when one of the great Captains gave his Opinion, that if they could make themſelves Maſters of that City, they ought to keep it in their own Poſſeſſion, for that it would ſerve them as a Bridge, over which they might at Diſcretion paſs into the reſt of *Greece*: *Antigonus* moſt generouſly, as well as prudently replied, *that the ſureſt Bridge to paſs over upon ſuch an Enterpriſe was the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, which would moſt aſſuredly be*

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*loſt, if that City were kept; and that* Athens *being one of the moſt celebrated Academies of the World, one ought to offer nothing prejudicial to that Repoſitory of Arts and Learning, if, at leaſt, they conſult their own future Reputation, which muſt in time to come be meaſured by thoſe Accounts, which from thence would be delivered to Poſterity.*

*Demetrius*, who had raiſed a Fund of five thouſand Talents to defray the Charges of this War, having with great Application rigged and equipped a Fleet of two hundred and fifty Gallies, weighed Anchor, and the Wind ſtanding fair, he ſteered a direct Courſe to the City of *Athens*, where at that time *Demetrius Phalereus*, who commanded as Deputy-Governor under *Caſſander*, had his Reſidence, and had placed a ſtrong Garriſon in the Fortreſs of *Munychia*. Upon the twenty fifth of *May*, the Wind freſhing up into a briſk Gale, and *Demetrius*, who was reſolved to improve the Favour which Fortune ſeemed to lend him, by the addition of Artifice, hanging out *Ptolemy*'s Flag, bore directly in for *Pyræus*: The Centinels, who deſcried the Fleet at ſome Diſtance, made no doubt but that they were Friends, nor was the Error diſcovered 'till it was too late. It may well be imagined, that this Surpriſe put the Captain of *Caſſander*'s Gallies and the whole Garriſon into ſuch great Confuſion and Diſorder, as uſually happen upon ſuch Approaches of an unexpected Enemy; and while they were preparing to make the beſt Defence and Oppoſition which the ſuddenneſs of the Accident would permit, *Demetrius* who perceived the Mouth of the Haven defenceleſs and open, ſtood in directly into the Port: As ſoon as he was entered, mounting upon the Poop of the Admiral Gally, and making a Signal with his Hand, intimating that he had ſomething to ſay, he cauſed a Herald with a loud Voice to make Proclamation, *That he was come thither with that mighty Fleet, by the Command of his Father, but with no other Deſign than what he prayed the Gods to proſper with Succeſs proportionable to his pious Intention, which*

*was to deliver them from the Oppreſſion of* Caſſander; *to chaſe out that armed Force, by which he held them in a cruel Subjection, and to reſtore to them the Freedom of their Ancient Laws and Government.*

The People hearing This, preſently threw down their Arms, and clapping their Hands, with loud Acclamations of Joy they immediately intreated *Demetrius* to land, calling him their Deliverer and Benefactor, and aſſuring him of a welcome Entertainment. This ſudden Revolt of the Citizens obliged *Phalereus*, who ſaw it impoſſible to reſiſt, to ſend certain of his Officers to *Demetrius*, to requeſt from him, upon his Surrender, honourable Uſage and Protection from the Outrages of the People, who hated him for *Caſſander*'s ſake, and whoſe Inſolences, in this change of his Fortune, he had but too juſt Apprehenſions to be afraid of. *Demetrius*, according to his accuſtomed Generoſity, treated the Meſſengers very reſpectfully, and having an extraordinary Veneration for the Perſon and Virtue of *Phalereus*, he ſent *Ariſtodemus* of *Miletus*, a particular Favourite to *Antigonus*, back again with the Meſſengers, to aſſure *Phalereus*, and Thoſe under his Command, not only of their Liberty but Security, and accordingly he ſent them away with a ſufficient Convoy to the City of *Thebes*; whither *Phalereus* deſired he might have Liberty to retire.

Now though *Demetrius* had the moſt paſſionate Deſire in the World to view the ſo much celebrated City of *Athens*, yet having ſolemnly vowed he would not enter into it, 'till he had given it entire Liberty from *Caſſander*, he forbore it for the preſent, and having blocked up the Citadel of *Munychia* with a ſtrong Rampart and deep Graff, he immediately weighed, and with his Fleet ſtood over for *Megara*, where alſo *Caſſander* had a ſtrong Garriſon, which would, if not removed, prove an uneaſy Neighbourhood to his newly-delivered *Athenians*.

Whilſt his Army laid cloſe Siege to *Megara*, *Demetrius* underſtanding that *Crateſipolis* the Widow of *Poliperchon*,

*Lerebon*, a Lady whoſe Beauty was in greater Reputation than her Virtue, was at *Patras*, and that as he underſtood ſhe had no Averſion for him, he reſolved ſecretly to make her a Viſit; and therefore leaving the Siege, he took only a few light Horſemen for his Attendants, and went in purſuit of this extravagant Amour: And that he might without Diſcovery, and with more Freedom, enjoy the Converſation of this celebrated Beauty, he commanded his Retinue to pitch a Tent at ſome Diſtance from *Patras*, and there to attend his Return, and ſo with only two or three of his moſt intimate Confidents he took his way towards the City; but whether by the Treachery of the Lady, or by pure Accident, is uncertain, ſo it happened, he fell into an Ambuſcade of a Party of *Caſſander*'s Troops, and was ſo warmly purſued, that he was obliged by changing his Coat with one of the ordinary Soldiers, and by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe to purchaſe a diſhonourable Safety, the juſt Reward of ſuch an Adventure, narrowly eſcaping being made Priſoner to his Enemies, by rendering up his Liberty to the Charms of a laſcivious Woman, and an unjuſtifiable Paſſion. The Party finding he was too well mounted to be taken, returned and ſeized his Tent, where they found many curious Preſents intended for his Miſtreſs, which was an Addition to his Diſgrace, tho' a Reward proportionable to the Undertaking.

But he had better Succeſs in his Wars than in his Amours, for returning to the Camp, he ſtormed the City of *Megara*; but at the Requeſt of the *Athenians*, who had aſſiſted him in the Expedition, he would not permit his Soldiers to commit any Violences or Spoil, but having chaſed away the Garriſon, he reſtored the Inhabitants to their Freedom and Laws, as he had before treated the *Athenians*. It happened that the Philoſopher *Stilpo* did at that time reſide near *Megara*, a Perſon of great Reputation for his retired and contemplative Life; *Demetrius*, who had a great Curioſity to

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ſee him, ſent for him, and the Philoſopher being come into his Preſence, *Stilpo*, ſaid he, *I hope you have received no ill Uſage, nor loſt any of your Goods by my Soldiers*; *My Lord*, replied he ſmartly, *I have not met with any who have thought Knowledge or Virtue ſo valuable as to plunder them from me.* But it ſeems, that upon the taking of the City *Demetrius* had beſtowed Liberty upon all the Slaves, and among the reſt upon the only one belonging to the poor Philoſopher; and when he was about to take his leave, *Demetrius*, having extremely careſſed him, *Well*, Stilpo, ſaid he, *I leave your City in perfect Liberty and Freedom*; *True, my Lord*, anſwered he briskly, *for you have not left us ſo much as one Slave belonging to us.*

*Demetrius* returning from *Megara* immediately ſat down before the Citadel of *Munychia*, which in a few days he took by Aſſault, and cauſed the Fortifications to be demoliſhed; and thus having accompliſhed his Deſign, at the importunity of the *Athenians*, who requeſted him to refreſh himſelf after his Fatigue, he ſolemnly entered the City, where cauſing the People to be ſummoned, in the hearing of a numerous Aſſembly, he publickly acquainted them, That he did not only freely reſtore them to the Liberty of their former popular Government, but would prevail with his Father *Antigonus* to beſtow upon them fifteen thouſand Meaſures of Wheat, and ſuch a proportion of Timber, as would enable them to build an hundred Gallies for the Defence of their City. In this manner did the *Athenians* recover their popular State, after they had loſt it for the ſpace of fifteen Years, from the time of the fatal War of *Lamia*, and the unlucky Battle before the City of *Cranon*; after which they had been under a ſeeming *Oligarchy*, but really under the ſingle Government of *Demetrius Phalereus* the Lieutenant of *Caſſander*.

But the exceſſive Honours which the *Athenians* beſtowed upon their Deliverers, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, drew upon them the Envy of other Princes, and an univerſal

univerſal Jealouſy among all their Neighbours; for here it was, that by the Courtſhip of the *Athenians*, they firſt took upon them the Stile of Majeſty and the Title of Kings, which hitherto they had declined, as only of right appertaining to the lineal Deſcendants of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, and which the reſt of his Captains ſeemed to renounce. But ſo tranſported were the *Athenians*, that with a wild and extravagant Gratitude, they beſtowed upon them not only the Title of Kings, but of their *Tutelar Deities and Deliverers*; and to enhance the Compliment, by a common Vote it was decreed to change the Stile of the City, which formerly named the Year according to the name of the Annual Magiſtrate; ſo that now a Prieſt of the two *Tutelar Divinities*, who was to be yearly choſen, was to have that Honour; and all publick Acts and Inſtruments were ordered to bear their *Teſt* under his Name. And in the *Peplum*, which was conſtantly born in Proceſſion in *Minerva*'s ſolemn Feſtival, they cauſed the Portraits of thoſe two Princes to be drawn among the reſt of their Gods, the Patrons and Guardians of their City. They alſo cauſed an Altar to be erected and conſecrated in the Place where *Demetrius* firſt alighted from his Chariot, calling it the *Altar of the Deſcent of* Demetrius; they added two new Companies or Tribes to their former Number, calling them after the Names of thoſe Princes *Antigonides* ond *Demetriades*; and to the Senate, which conſiſted of five hundred Perſons, Fifty being choſen according to the ancient Conſtitution out of every Tribe, they added one Hundred more out of theſe two new Companies. But the moſt ſordid of all their groſs and unmanly Flatteries was the Decree propoſed by *Stratocles*, by which it was ordained and enacted, that the Ambaſſadors, which they ſhould ſend to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, ſhould have the ſame Stile and Character with Thoſe they were accuſtomed to ſend to *Delphi*, to conſult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Græcian* Solemnities, and to make Oblations for the Safety

and

and Preſervation of their City, whom they called, *The Ambaſſadors of the Gods.*

This *Stratocles* was a Perſon of a moſt inſolent and vicious Temper, one who had led a lewd and diſhoneſt Life, not much unlike the infamous *Cleon*. He kept a Concubine named *Phylacium*, who one day bringing him a Diſh of certain Heads for his Dinner; *Look*, ſaid he diſdainfully, *I muſt dine upon Heads, which we Stateſmen play with like Tennis-balls.* At another time, when the *Athenians* received that notable Defeat near the Iſland of *Amorgos*, he haſted from the Encounter, and before the News could arrive at the City, having got a Chaplet of Flowers upon his Head, he came riding through the *Ceramique* Street, with ſuch a ſhew of Triumph, as if the *Athenians* had been Conquerors, and inſtantly commanded all the People to render Thanks to the immortal Gods, and keep a ſolemn Feſtival for the happy Victory. But whilſt they were in the height of their Gaiety and Joy, the Meſſengers, who had made no haſte to bring the evil Tidings, arrived with a true Account of the Diſaſter, and the People being enraged that he had thus impoſed upon them, he confidently came among them, and made this Jeſt of the Matter, *Very fine*, ſaid he, *and I warrant you think you do bravely now to be angry, and to reproach me for having made you two Holidays.* This was the way of this Humouriſt *Stratocles*.

But there was ſtill Another of theſe audacious Flatterers *hotter even than Fire*, if I may make uſe of the Words of *Ariſtophanes*, who reſolving to out-ſhoot *Stratocles* in his own Bow, propoſed, that it ſhould be decreed, that whenſoever *Demetrius* ſhould honour their City with his Royal Preſence, they ſhould treat him with the ſame Ceremonies and Honours as they were accuſtomed to pay to the Deities of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and that to make his Reception more ſplendid and magnificent, a Talent of Silver ſhould be iſſued out of the Exchequer to provide Sacrifices and Oblations, to be offered to this new Divinity.

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In ſhort, they ſtrained their Invention to that degree of Extravagancy, that they changed the Name of the Month of (1) *Munychion*, and called it *Demetrion*; and the Feſtivals of *Bacchus*, which uſed to be celebrated upon the laſt Day of that Month by the Name of *Dionyſia*, they altered into the Name of *Demetria*. But the incenſed Deities ſoon manifeſted their Diſpleaſure at theſe ſacrilegious Flatteries, by divers uncommon Preſages and Prodigies; for as they were in a pompous Proceſſion carrying the *Peplum*, in which *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* were by publick Decree repreſented together with *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, through the high Street, a ſudden and impetuous Guſt of Wind tore the Banner from the top to the bottom. A ſtrange Crop of poiſonous Hemlock, a Weed formerly an abſolute Foreigner to that Soil, ſprung up about the Altars which they had erected to thoſe new Divinities; they were forced alſo to intermit the ſolemn Feſtivals of *Bacchus*, for that the very Day on which they uſed to be annually celebrated, there happened ſuch a ſevere and rigorous Froſt, that not only the Vines and Fig-trees were all blaſted, but even the green Wheat was likewiſe deſtroyed; which gave occaſion to *Philipides*, a declared Enemy to *Stratocles*, to laſh him in theſe Verſes.

*The Man of whom our blaſted Vines complain,*
*And the Torn Enſign, which the Gods diſdain,*
*Who did to Mortals Divine Honours pay,*
*'Twas He who hurt us, not an innocent Play.*

This *Philipides* was a Perſon for whom King *Lyſimachus* had ſuch an extraordinary Value, that for His ſake he conferred many Royal Favours upon the *Athenians*, and had even ſuch a ſuperſtitious Veneration for him, that when he was about to undertake any Affair of great Importance, he ever conſulted firſt with *Philipides*, and was uſed to ſay, that he always took his very Preſence for a lucky Omen in his Enterpriſes. Nor was it altogether

(1) January.

altogether without Reaſon that he thus eſteemed him, for *Philipides* was a Perſon of an honeſt and divertive Converſation, wholly free from the nauſeous Humours of the ſervile and officious Courtiers; and as his Humour was eaſy and innocent, ſo was it alſo gay and pleaſant, as may appear by this Paſſage. *Lyſimachus* upon a certain time being extremely obliged with his diverting Company, demanded of him, *Philipides*, ſaid he, *what will you that I ſhould gratify you withal, and I will do it? With what your Majeſty pleaſes*, replied he, *provided you do not load me with the Honour of being of your Privy-Council.* Such a Perſon was honeſt *Philipides*, and I therefore thought it not amiſs to prefer the innocent *Comedian*, before this impious haranguing Flatterer *Stratocles*.

But That which exceeds all other Follies and Flatteries was That of *Dromoclides* of *Sphettus*, who when there was a Debate concerning ſending to the *Delphian* Oracle to enquire the lucky Minute for the Conſecration of certain Bucklers, he propounded in the Aſſembly, that they ſhould rather ſend to conſult the Oracle of *Demetrius*; and for the horrible Rarity of the Propoſition, I will repeat the very Words of the Decretal Order, which was in theſe Terms. *May it be happy and propitious! The People of* Athens *have decreed and ordained, that a fit Perſon ſhall be choſen among the* Athenian *Citizens, who ſhall be deputed to be ſent to our great Deliverer, and after he hath duly performed the juſt Rites and Sacrifices, ſhall enquire of him, in what moſt religious and decent manner he will pleaſe to direct the Conſecration of the Bucklers; and according to the Anſwer which his Oracleſhip ſhall be pleaſed to return, the People ſhall be obliged to put it in ſpeedy Execution.* Thus did theſe officious Flatterers, with their impious Breath, blow up poor *Demetrius*, already crazed with his Succeſſes and Honours, almoſt into a perfect Madneſs.

*Demetrius*, who was naturally amorous, in this Interval of Leiſure from his Martial Affairs, became paſſionately in Love with a fair *Athenian* Lady, whoſe Name

Name was *Eurydice*: She was deſcended of the ancient Houſe of *Miltiades*, that celebrated Captain, and had been married very young to *Opheltas* Prince of *Cyrene*, but having the Misfortune to be divorced from him by his untimely Death, ſhe was not able to brook that melancholy Court, but retired herſelf to *Athens*, whence *Demetrius*, who was as fortunate at ſtorming the tender Hearts of fair Ladies, as the Walls of the moſt obſtinate Cities, after a ſhort Siege of Courtſhip overcame the Difficulties and Averſions, with which ſhe defended herſelf againſt ſecond Nuptials, and was married to her. The *Athenians* took this Marriage for an extraordinary Favour done to their City of which the Lady was a Native, when-as in Truth it was the effect of a natural Propenſity which he had to Variety, for he had many Wives at the ſame time; but among them all *Philla* was the Lady to whom he paid the moſt Reſpect and Deference; ſhe was the Daughter of *Antipater*, and the Widow of *Craterus*, who while he lived was of all the Succeſſors of *Alexander* the moſt beloved, and at his Death the moſt univerſally lamented by the *Macedonians*: And for theſe Reaſons *Antigonus* had obliged him to marry her, notwithſtanding the Diſparity of their Years, *Demetrius* being much younger than that Princeſs; and when upon that Account he made ſome Difficulty of complying with his Father's Pleaſure, *Antigonus* whiſpered him ſoftly in his Ear this Couplet alluding to ſome Verſes in *Euripides*:

*Let not her Years your Love abate,*
*But marry where's the beſt Eſtate.*

But as it frequently happens in ſuch unequal Matches, how much Reſpect and Deference ſoever *Demetrius* paid to her Birth, Quality and Fortune, *Philla* was never intirely poſſeſſed of his Heart: for beſides ſeveral other Ladies whom he married, he had always many Miſtreſſes, and was a Prince that ſurpaſſed all others of his

time, in abandoning himſelf to the infamous Slavery of his Paſſions, and unbounded Pleaſures.

But he was not ſo abſolutely charmed with the ſoft Lute of *Venus*, but that he had ſtill an Ear for the ſhrill Notes of *Bellona*'s Trumpet; and there happening at this time a new Conteſt with *Ptolemy*, concerning the Iſland of *Cyprus*, *Antigonus* ſent for him to command his Troops in that Expedition. His Unwillingneſs to abandon the glorious Enterpriſe of the Deliverance of *Greece*, which he had ſo fortunately begun, did for ſome time ſtruggle with his Compliance to the King's Command; and ſeeing that he could not at preſent effect his Deſign by the Force of his Arms, he attempted to accompliſh it by Cunning and Artifice: He ſent therefore to *Cleonides*, *Ptolemy*'s Governor in *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and privately made him very advantageous Offers, if he would only retire from thoſe Places, and leave them at entire Liberty: But *Cleonidas* diſdainfully rejecting all ſorts of Conditions, which might blemiſh his Reputation with the Infamy of ſo baſe a Treachery to his Maſter, he was for that time forced to quit the Proſecution of his Deſigns in Favour of the *Græcians*, and to apply himſelf to the War with *Ptolemy*: He therefore embarked his Troops, and with a mighty Navy ſailed directly to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, where immediately upon his Arrival he fell upon *Menelaus* the Brother of *Ptolemy*, and gave him a notable Defeat. The News of this Affront ſo inraged *Ptolemy*, that he came in Perſon with all his Naval Power and Land-Forces, to revenge the Diſgrace of his Brother's Overthrow.

When both theſe Fleets were come within ſight, *Ptolemy* having commanded His to drop their Anchors, he ſent this inſolent Meſſage to *Demetrius*, *That if he conſulted his Safety or Honour, he would take this timely Advice, and inſtantly retire, before his whole Fleet and Land-Forces were come up, for that otherwiſe he would compel him to do it with Shame and Ignominy. Demetrius*, not in the leaſt ſhocked by theſe impotent Menaces, returned

turned him an Anſwer more civil in Appearance, but not leſs high and daring. *You may acquaint* Ptolemy, ſaid he to the Meſſengers, *that I will do him the Favour to permit him to eſcape, if he will oblige himſelf upon his Honour to withdraw his Garriſons from* Sicyon *and* Corinth, *and make thoſe Cities Poſſeſſors of their own Freedom.*

The Conteſt between theſe two potent Princes, and the Iſſue of this War was ſuch, as had not only a ſingle Influence upon themſelves, but muſt draw after it the Intereſts of many other Princes and Sovereigns; for it was apparent that He upon whom Victory ſhould incline to beſtow her Laurels, would thereby become not only Maſter of the Kingdoms of *Cyprus* and *Syria*, but be undoubtedly the moſt potent and formidable Monarch of all the Succeſſors of *Alexander*.

The Fleets had not long lain within View of one another, but that *Ptolemy* reſolving to put it to the Iſſue of a Combat, and in order thereunto, having commanded *Menelaus*, who lay in the Port of *Salamine* with ſixty Gallies, that in the heat of the Engagement he ſhould attack the Rear of *Demetrius*'s Fleet, he inſtantly weighed, and with all the Force of Sails and Oars he aſſailed *Demetrius* with a Fleet of one hundred Gallies, excellently well-manned and appointed for the Combat. But *Demetrius*, who apprehended his Deſign, commanded ten of his Gallies to row up to the very Mouth of the Haven of *Salamine*, and there to place themſelves ſo advantageouſly, that *Menelaus* could neither come out with his Fleet, nor be able to combat them, but upon unequal Numbers; and after This, having ranged his Land-Army upon the Shore, he advanced to meet *Ptolemy* with one hundred and eighty Gallies; and attacked him with ſuch a furious Impetuoſity, that in a little time he forced him, with only eight of the lighteſt and moſt nimble Sailors in his Fleet, to ſave himſelf by Flight; leaving *Demetrius* in ſo intire a Poſſeſſion of the Victory, that ſeventy of his ſtouteſt Gallies were taken, and the reſt ſunk, together with all the Seamen, Sol-

diers, Victuallers, and the Veſſels, which carried his Women, Friends, Officers, and principal Servants, his Treaſure, and all the Engines and Ammunition which he had provided for the War.

Among the Number of Thoſe whom Fortune by that Victory made Priſoners to *Demetrius*, the celebrated *Lamia* chanced to be One; a Lady, whoſe Beauty, admirable Skill upon the Lute, and charming Voice had rendered her extremely admired; and after ſhe began to entertain much Courtſhip, ſhe ſtill increaſed in that infamous kind of Fame; and although ſhe was now paſt the Meridian Glories of her Beauty, yet had ſhe ſomething ſo agreeable in her Humour and Converſation, that *Demetrius* quickly exchanged his Liberty with her, and became a Priſoner to her Charms, to that degree, as that it was ſaid, *All other Ladies were amorous of* Demetrius, *but* Demetrius *was amorous only of* Lamia.

After the gaining of this ſignal Victory, *Demetrius*, came before *Salamine*; and *Menelaus*, upon his firſt Approach, being unable to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance, ſurrendered himſelf and all his Fleet, together with twelve hundred Horſe, and twelve thouſand Foot, with all their Arms and Ammunition: But That which added to the Glory of this Victory, was the generous Deportment of *Demetrius* to the Vanquiſhed; for after he had given honourable Funerals to the Dead, he beſtowed Liberty upon the Living; and that he might not forget his flattering *Athenians*, he ſent Them, as a Preſent, compleat Arms for twelve hundred Men.

To carry this happy News, *Ariſtodemus* of *Miletus*, the moſt affected Flatterer belonging to the Court, was diſpatched to *Antigonus*; and He, to enhance the welcome Meſſage, was reſolved to raiſe the Expectation to the higheſt Pitch, by delaying his Satisfaction to the lateſt Moment: He therefore commanded the Frigate, which tranſported him, to come to an Anchor in the Road; and having ordered all the Ship-Crew to remain aboard, he took the Long-Boat, and was ſet aſhore Alone: One may well imagine the King was in great Pain

Pain to know the Iſſue of this Encounter, and when he was informed, that *Ariſtodemus* was coming all alone, it put him into ſtrange Inquietudes, and Diſorders, leſt he ſhould be charged with ſome fatal Tidings; his Impatience growing importunate, he ſent one Meſſenger after another, to enquire what News; but *Ariſtodemus*, walking very gravely, and with a ſettled Countenance, without making any anſwer, ſtill marched on ſoftly towards the Palace: *Antigonus*, who could not divine the meaning of this Delay, and no longer able to ſupport the Eagerneſs of his Expectations, deſcended to the Gate of the Palace, followed by a Train of inquiſitive Courtiers, and trembling, betwixt the uneaſy Combat of the Paſſions of Hope and Fear, he advanced to meet this Fantaſtick Envoy; as ſoon as *Ariſtodemus* ſaw him within hearing, ſtretching out his Hands, he accoſted him with this loud Exclamation, *Royal Sir*, ſaid he, *Rejoice! We have glorioufly vanquiſhed* Ptolemy, *We are abſolute Maſters of* Cyprus, *and have taken above ſixteen thouſand Priſoners.* To which *Antigonus* coldly replied, *Welcome* Ariſtodemus, *with your good News; but truly you have made us purchaſe it at ſo enhanced a Price of Expectation, you muſt e'en be content to be paid in your own Coin, and languiſh in the long Expectancy of a ſlow Reward.*

The Courtiers, who were ecſtaſied with this good News, taking a ſudden Hint from this Appellation of *Ariſtodemus*, in great Pomp proclaimed *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* Kings, and immediately placed a Diadem upon the Head of *Antigonus*, who ſent a rich Crown alſo to his Son; the Superſcription of the Letter which accompanied it, being, *To the moſt excellent Majeſty of King* Demetrius.

This News arriving in *Ægypt*, that they might not ſeem to be dejected with the late Defeat, the *Ægyptians* alſo took Occaſion to beſtow the Stile of King upon *Ptolemy*; and the reſt of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, reſolving not to be behind-hand with them, aſſumed alſo the Title of Kings: *Lyſimachus* taking at the ſame time the Royal Diadem, and *Seleucus*, who had before re-

ceived it in all Addreſſes from the barbarous Nations, alſo took it upon him in all the Applications which were made unto him from the *Græcians*: As for *Caſſander*, he ſtill retained his ancient Stile in all his Letters and publick Inſtruments, leaving Others, who addreſſed themſelves unto him, at Liberty, whether they would give him the Title of King, or wholly omit it.

But this new Addition of Honour was not confined only to the Name of King, or the Royal Ornaments, but ſeemed to inſpire them with ſuch haughty Sentiments, as in a manner changed their very Natures, and way of Living: For now they abandoned the former Familiarities towards their Friends, and in their very Mien, Gate, Salutations, and other Deportments, began to affect a ſupercilious State, and diſagreeable Reſervedneſs, and affectation of Grandeur; appearing rather like formal Actors upon a Theatre, than thoſe eaſy, free, and obliging Perſons they were before; and to render themſeves more feared, they put on with the Royal Habit, a certain Cruelty to their Subjects, to whom the ſight of Puniſhments had formerly been very rare and unfrequent; but throwing away the Vizor of Popularity, they now openly avowed themſelves abſolute Sovereigns. This Fear of their Diſpleaſure begot the unmanly Vice of Flattery among their Followers, the whole Court ſtriving who ſhould be moſt forward in theſe obſequious and mean Compliances with theſe Humours, which, upon this Change, they had taken up.

*Antigonus* extremely elevated with the Succeſs of his Arms at *Cyprus*, under the Conduct of *Demetrius*, reſolved to puſh on his good Fortune, and in Perſon to lead the whole Power of his Empire againſt King *Ptolemy* by Land, whilſt *Demetrius*, as Admiral of the Naval Forces, ſhould coaſt along the Shore, to aſſiſt him by Sea, as occaſion ſhould require. In this Expedition it happened, that one *Medius*, a great Captain in the Army, had this odd preſaging Dream, he thought he ſaw *Antigonus* and his whole Army running, as if it had been a Race; that at the firſt ſtarting they ran with great

great Vigour and Swiftneſs; but that towards the end of the Career, he ſaw *Antigonus* come lagging up tired, and almoſt breathleſs, and quite ſpent; and the Event proved accordingly; for *Antigonus* met with many Difficulties and Extremities by Land; and *Demetrius* was ſo ſhattered by foul Weather at Sea, that he loſt divers of his beſt Ships, Himſelf very narrowly eſcaping a Shipwreck; ſo that all the great Expectations of this Campaign came juſt to nothing, they being obliged to return home without any thing beſides Loſſes aud Diſappointments.

*Antigonus*, though now he was near the eightieth Year of his Age, ſeemed uncapable of the Fatigues of War by the Bulk of his Body, rather than by his Age, which was very vigorous for thoſe Years; he therefore committed the Management of his greateſt Affairs unto the Prince, whoſe Conduct was very admirably dextrous in Military Matters; and the old King was induced to bear with thoſe exceſſive Liberties, wherein he drowned himſelf in the time of Peace, becauſe he obſerved him to be the moſt temperate and abſtemious Perſon in the World in the time of War and Action.

It happened, that returning one Day from his Field-Exerciſes, and coming to the King as his Cuſtom was, to kiſs him, and doing it with a little more than uſual Warmneſs, *What! I warrant you*, Demetrius, ſaid the King ſmiling, *you fancied you were at the Lips of your Miſtreſs* Lamia: For She, of all his Women, had the moſt intire Poſſeſſion of his Heart. At another time, having been for ſeveral Days loſt in a Debauch among his Companions, and coming into the Preſence, he deſired *Antigonus* that his Majeſty would excuſe him that he had not in ſo long time paid his Duty to him; the Reaſon of which was that he had been ſeized with ſo violent a Defluxion of Rheum, that he had been obliged to keep his Chamber. *Well!* replied the old King, looking very pleaſantly, *I was informed ſo by your Servants, but pray*, Demetrius, *tell me, did the Defluxion come from* Chios *or* Thaſſos? alluding to the rich Wines that

that were brought from thoſe Places. And not long after, *Demetrius* having given it out, that he was indiſpoſed, *Antigonus* had the Curioſity to make him a Viſit; and coming to his Apartment, out bolts a ſprightly young Minion: The King entring, took a Seat by his Bed-ſide, and taking hold of his Hand, began to feel his Pulſe: *Demetrius*, who was at a loſs what Excuſe to make, told him that he was now much better than he had been, and that he hoped his Fever had left him. *Yes*, replied the King very quick, *I verily believe it has; for I juſt now met it at your Chamber-Door.* However, *Antigonus* did more eaſily connive at theſe Vices, in regard of the other excellent Qualities whereof he was poſſeſſed; and indeed, this was the true Temper of this Prince, that to whatever he addicted himſelf, whether good or bad, he reſigned himſelf wholly to it for that time; and not after the Cuſtom of the *Scythians*, who, in the midſt of their Cups, were wont to call for their Arms, as it were to awaken their Courage, ready to fall into a Lethargy with their plentiful Glaſſes. As for *Demetrius*, if he devoted himſelf to his Pleaſures and Luxury, he abandoned himſelf intirely to them; and if the Trumpet ſounded to Horſe, he was no leſs aſſiduous in the Fatigues of War: he was, beyond all doubt, a very great Captain, and moſt notably dexterous, not only in his Conduct, but in forming his Levies, and raiſing an Army, and in making all the neceſſary Preparations of Stores and Magazines, the very Muſcles and Nerves of War, which he ever took care to provide in great Abundance.

His great Divertiſement was in building Gallies, and inventing Engines of War; and having naturally a Genius addicted to Machanicks, he did not apply it to the making of frivolous and unuſeful Toys, after the Humour of ſome other Princes, who ſpent their vacant Hours in Painting, Muſick, or Turning; as *Æropus* King of *Macedon*, who took great Pleaſure in making little Lamps and Tablets; or as *Ptolomæus Philometor*, whoſe Diverſion was to cultivate *Hellebore*, *Henbane*, *Hemlock*,

*Hemlock*, *Aconite*, *Dorichnium*, and other noxious Plants, which he uſed to ſow Himſelf in the Royal Gardens, and with great Diligence to gather the Seeds in their Seaſon, the Fruits and Juices, and to try Experiments of their Nature, Qualities and Virtues. The *Parthian* Kings employed themſelves ſomething better becoming their Dignity and Martial Humour; for their Diverſion was to ſharpen the Points of their Arrows, Darts, and Javelins. But the Mechanick Inventions of *Demetrius*, though deſigned for Uſe and Service, had ſomething noble and magnificent withal; and the wondrous Contrivance of them was ſo uncommon, that one might eaſily read the Character of a great Mind and extraordinary Genius in the Princely Artifice; they were ſuch as by their magnificent and coſtly Structure, beſpoke themſelves the Products of a Royal Engineer, inſomuch that they did not leſs ſurpriſe his Friends with their ſtupendious Magnificence, than they aſtoniſhed his Enemies with their dreadful Beauty; and it is no leſs pleaſant than true, what is related of them, that the very Enemies againſt Whom they were to be employed for their Deſtruction, could not forbear running to gaze with Admiration upon his Gallies of five and ſix Ranges of Oars, as they paſſed near their Coaſts; and the Inhabitants of thoſe Cities which were to be beſieged, and ſtormed by thoſe terrible Engines, thronged to the Walls which they were about to batter, to ſatisfy their Curioſity with the agreeable Proſpect of thoſe ſtately Machines, which from their uſe were called *Helepoles*, or *Takers of Cities*. And even *Lyſimachus*, of all the Kings of his time the greateſt Enemy of *Demetrius*, coming to raiſe the Siege of *Solos* in *Cilicia*, ſent to deſire the Permiſſion to ſee his Gallies, and admirable Engines, which *Demetrius* eaſily accorded him; and having gratified his Curioſity by a full View of them, ſtruck at once with Fear and Admiration, he quitted the Place and his Deſign of relieving the beſieged City. The *Rhodians* alſo, whom he had long beſieged, and at laſt reduced to Compoſition, made their humble Requeſt, that he would beſtow

ſtow ſome one of theſe Engines upon Them, which they might preſerve as a Monument of His Puiſſance, and Their brave Reſiſtance.

The Quarrel betwixt Him and the *Rhodians*, was upon the occaſion of their being Allies of *Ptolemy*, whom they had aſſiſted againſt *Demetrius*; and in the Siege the greateſt of all the Engines was planted againſt their Walls; the Baſis of it was exactly ſquare, each ſide containing twenty four Yards; the height of it was thirty three Yards, ſtill from the Baſis to the Top growing narrower, ſomething like a Cone or Pyramid: within it were ſeveral Apartments or Chambers, which were to be filled with armed Men, and in every Story or Apartment the Front towards the Enemy had Windows which were to be opened, in order to their diſcharging their Shot and Arrows againſt the Beſieged; but That which was moſt admirable, that notwithſtanding the vaſt Bigneſs of the Engine, yet when it was moved, it never ſo much as once tottered, but went upon the Baſis with an equal Poiſe, making a moſt dreadful Noiſe as it was forced along, and thereby gave both Wonder and Terror to the Spectators.

Whilſt *Demetrius* was at this Siege, there were brought to him from *Cyprus* two compleat Cuiraſſes of poliſhed Steel, weighing each of them no more than forty Pounds; and *Zoilus*, who had forged them, to ſhew the Excellence of their Temper, deſired that one of them might be tried with an Arrow ſhot out of one of the Engines at no greater Diſtance than ſix and twenty Yards, and upon the Experiment, it was found, that though the Dart did exactly hit the Cuiraſs, yet it made no greater Impreſſion, than ſuch a ſlight Scratch as might be made with the Point of a Style or Graver. *Demetrius*, who was wonderfully delighted with the Workmanſhip, having well rewarded the Artificer, Himſelf wore One of them in all his Encounters, and beſtowed the Other upon *Alcimus* the *Epirot*, one of the moſt robuſt and gallant Captains in his Army; This *Alcimus* was one of the ſtrongeſt Men in the World; for his

his compleat Armour weighed ſixſcore Pound, whereas the Arms of the ableſt of the other Soldiers rarely exceeded half that Weight; but notwithſtanding all his Strength and Courage, no Armour was Proof againſt his ill Deſtiny; for in a furious Attack, whilſt he was gallantly fighting, and encouraging his Soldiers by his Example, he was ſlain near the Theatre during this Siege.

The *Rhodians* all the time made a brave Defence, inſomuch that *Demetrius* evidently ſaw he was not to maſter them without great Difficulty and Hazard; nevertheleſs he perſiſted in his Reſolution to try the laſt Extremities; And the rather, becauſe that the *Rhodians* having taken a Veſſel in which there was embarked certain rich Hangings for his Pavilion, Apparel, and other Neceſſaries, as alſo the Letters from the Princeſs *Phila*, who had ſent them to him, they had undecently ſent Them together with the Ship to *Ptolemy*; being here-in far from imitating the honourable Example of the *Athenians*, who having ſurpriſed an Expreſs ſent from King *Philip* their Enemy, they opened all the Letters he was charged with, excepting only Thoſe directed to Queen *Olympias*, which with great Civility they ſent unopened to her. Notwithſtanding this Provocation, *Demetrius*, into whoſe Power it ſhortly after came to have repaid the Affront, would not ſuffer himſelf to be tranſported with Revenge, ſo as to do a diſhonourable Action Himſelf, which he condemned in Them. It happened at that time that the celebrated Painter *Protogenes* of *Cannus* was painting the Hiſtory of the Hero *Jalyſus*, and the Piece was almoſt finiſhed, when *Demetrius* having made himſelf Maſter of the Suburb where the Painter was working at it, laid his Hands upon it. Immediately the *Rhodians* ſent a Herald to *Demetrius*, requeſting him to ſpare ſo valuable a Performance, and not ſuffer any Injury to be done unto it. *Demetrius* returned for Anſwer, *that he would ſooner ſet Fire to all the Statues and Portraitures of his Father, than ſuffer the leaſt Injury to be done to ſuch a curious Piece of laborious Skill and Beauty.* For it is ſaid, that *Protogenes* was

ſeven

ſeven Years about it, and that when *Apelles* firſt ſaw it, he was ſo ſurpriſed, that unable to ſtifle his Admiration, he ſtood mute, ſtruck at once with Wonder, and a little Emulation at the Beauty of the Work; but recovering his Tranſport and his Tongue, *A moſt admirable and marvellous Piece!* ſaid he, *but yet here want ſome of the Sweetneſs, and ſoft Touches of My Pencil, which will render my Paintings immortal.* This curious Piece, among many others, was afterwards carried to *Rome*, where it was conſumed by an accidental Fire in that City.

Whilſt *Demetrius* thus fruitleſly maintained the Siege, and the *Rhodians* no leſs obſtinately defended their City, the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors came luckily to reſcue his Reputation, by propoſing an Accommodation between them, that ſo *Demetrius* might be at Liberty to aſſiſt Them againſt *Caſſander*, who had taken this Opportunity to beſiege the City of *Athens*: In ſhort, a Peace was concluded, by which the *Rhodians* were obliged to aſſiſt *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* againſt all their Enemies, excepting *Ptolemy* the King of *Ægypt*; and ſo ſoon as the Ratifications were exchanged, *Demetrius* with a Fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies, and a great Land-Army, ſailed directly to *Athens*, where he not only diſlodged *Caſſander*, but falling upon his Rear, very much incommoded his Retreat, and purſuing him to the Straits of *Thermopylæ*, obliged him there to a Battle, which ended in the total Overthrow of *Caſſander*'s Army.

After this Victory, he took the City of *Heraclea*, the Citizens voluntarily opening their Gates to receive the Conqueror; and the Garriſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand *Macedonians*, revolted to him, and took Service under his victorious Enſigns. In his Return, having given Liberty to all the *Græcians* on this ſide the Straits of *Thermopylæ*, made an Alliance with the *Bœotians*, and taken in the Cities of *Cenchrees*, *Phyle*, and *Panacton*, in which *Caſſander* had placed ſtrong Garriſons to awe the Country into Obedience, he beſtowed them upon the *Athenians*;

*Athenians*; and They, in Requital, though they had before been ſo profuſe in conferring Honours upon him, that one would have thought they had exhauſted all the ſtore of Invention, yet ſtrained and put their Wits upon the Rack, to extort from them new-deviſed Honours and Flatteries. They ordered him a Lodging behind *Minerva*'s Temple, in the Apartment of the Virgins, the vowed Votaries of that Goddeſs; upon which Occaſion ſome of the Wits exerciſed their Talent, and took the Liberty to ſay, *That* Minerva *had got a dangerous* Inmate, *and that it was not much to the Reputation of her Virgins Chaſtity to keep Company with* Demetrius, *who was not ſo over-ſtrait-laced in that ſort of Virtue*; though it ſeems *Antigonus* had not given him the Example; for of Him it is reported, that one time, obſerving that his other Son *Philip* had Lodgings appointed in a Houſe where there were three pretty young Ladies, the King, without taking any Notice to his Son, ſent for the Officer who had taken up the Lodgings; to whom he ſaid, *Pray, good Sir, oblige me with removing my Son out of thoſe little pent Lodgings; for I do not care to have theſe young People crowded One upon Another.*

As for *Demetrius*, he was ſo far from ſhewing any Reverence to the Goddeſs, with whom he had taken up his Quarters, and whoſe younger Brother he had the Vanity to have himſelf ſtiled, and upon that Score might have paid her ſome little decent Reſpect, that he gave himſelf up to the moſt infamous Liberties; he debauched the young Men and Women of *Athens*, to that degree, as is as little to the Reputation of a modeſt Pen to relate, as it was diſhonourable to the City; which may for ever bluſh at thoſe laſcivious Liberties, in which this diſſolute Prince, by their ſervile Compliances, was not only permitted, but even tempted to debaſe both Theirs, and his own Honour and Glory; inſomuch that his Court ſeemed innocent, when he had only *Chryſeis*, *Lamia*, *Dema*, *Anticyra*, and ſome other Ladies of common ill Fame, for the Companions of his Revels.

But among such a heap of Vice, there was found one Jewel of severe Virtue and Chastity, whose Name deserves to be transmitted to Posterity in the Records of Honour, the young *Damocles*; whose surpassing Beauty gave him the particular Title of the *beautiful Damocles*. *Demetrius* had essayed all the ways of passionate Courtships, Gifts, Threatnings, and Flatteries, in order to obtain his Desires, but All in vain. Nay, he was so fearful of coming in his way, that he absented himself from the *Gymnasium*, and all other Places of publick Exercise, and went no where abroad but to a private Bagnio. *Demetrius*, who had ordered him to be watched, timed it so well, that he caught him alone in one of the bathing Rooms. In this Distress, *Damocles* taking Counsel from Despair, hastily threw off the Cover of the Cauldron where the Water was boiling for the Service of the Bath, and leaping in over Head and Ears, was stifled in a Moment. Thus fell the unhappy Youth, deserving of a better Fate, but with Sentiments truly great and noble, worthy his Country, and his most exquisite Beauty. In This he was much unlike *Cleonetus* the Son of *Cleomedon*, who made Application to *Demetrius*, that by His Intercession the Fine of fifty Talents, in which his Father had been condemned by the People of *Athens*, might be remitted; *Demetrius* gave him Letters to that Effect; which, when he had produced at a Common Council, it did not only diminish his Reputation, but strangely shocked the Citizens; who though in Compliance with the Letters they remitted the Fine, yet they made an Edict, prohibiting any Citizen for the future *to bring Letters of the like Tenor from* Demetrius; but being informed, that *Demetrius*, to whom an Account of it was carried, resenting it as an high Indignity and Affront, that he gave out some passionate and menacing Words about it, these trembling Flatterers did not only rescind and vacate the former Order, but inhumanly put some of the Proposers and Advisers of it to Death, and banished Others; and to make up the Matter, it was in a full Assembly enacted and decreed, *That what-*

*whatſoever King* Demetrius *ſhould in time to come ordain, ſhould be eſteemed ſacred towards the Gods, and inviolable to Men.* Upon which, when ſome of the beſt of the Citizens had ſaid, That certainly *Stratocles* muſt be ſtark mad, and out of his Wits, to make ſuch a horrid and impious Decree, *Democharis* the *Laconian* replied, *That if* Stratocles *had not been ſo mad, all the World muſt conclude him out of his Wits*; thereby intimating what an advantageous Trade he made of this impious and ſervile Flattery: But *Democharis* paid dearly for his Wit; for being accuſed before the criminal Judges, they ſentenced him to Baniſhment. This was the natural Reſult of their new-regained Liberty, and the true Character of the Temper of a Popular State, which is only a Liberty for all Perſons to be Slaves to the wild, arbitrary, and extravagant Humours of a giddy, raſh, and inconſtant Multitude of Fools, managed by a Set of more cunning Knaves.

After This, *Demetrius* marched with his Forces into *Peloponneſus*, where the Terror of his Victories had ſo benummed the Hearts and Hands of his Enemies, that not One of them had the Courage to oppoſe the Torrent of his Arms; but before his Approach abandoned all the Towns and Garriſons which they were poſſeſſed of; ſo that he reduced all *Arcadia* under his Obedience, except the Cities of *Mantinea* and *Argos*; he alſo by Compoſition had *Sicyon* and *Corinth* ſurrendered unto him, paying to their reſpective Garriſons an hundred Talents.

About this time it happened that the ſolemn Feſtivals of *Juno* were to be celebrated with the accuſtomed Sports at *Argos*; and *Demetrius*, who was reſolved, by aſſiſting at them, to render the Solemnity more ſplendid and magnificent, fell in Love with, and married the fair *Deidamia*, the Daughter of *Eacus*, King of the *Moloſſians*, and Siſter to *Pyrrhus*; which Nuptials did not a little contribute to the heightning of thoſe Solemnities and Entertainments dedicated to *Juno*, the Goddeſs of Marriages: At the ſame time alſo, he prevailed with the *Sicyonians* to change the Situation of their City, to

a Place far more pleaſant and commodious, where they built a new one, and complimented him with giving it the Name of *Demetriada*; and in Concluſion, his Affairs being conducted to this proſperous Iſſue, he ſummoned a general Aſſembly of the *Græcians* to meet him at the *Iſthmus* in *Peloponneſus*; where, by an extraordinary Concourſe of People, he was with an unanimous Conſent proclaimed Captain-General of the *Greeks*; as before Him *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great had been: And being blown up with the freſh Gales of his proſperous Fortune, he had the Vanity to fancy Himſelf not only equal, but ſuperior to thoſe two Famous and Renowned Kings: In This indeed he out-did even *Alexander* Himſelf, who would never take upon him the Title of King of Kings, as did *Demetrius*, though many Kings paid Homage to him; nor did he ever go about to leſſen, or diveſt any of Them who were his Tributaries, of the Stile of Kings; whereas *Demetrius* uſed to ridicule all Thoſe who gave the Title of Kings to any of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, except his Father and Himſelf; and in his Entertainments, it was a common Diverſion with him, after his Own and his Father's had paſſed round by the Name of Kings, to drink the Health of *Seleucus*, with the Title of Great Maſter of the Elephants; of *Ptolemy*, by the Name of Lord High-Admiral; of *Lyſimachus*, with the Addition of Lord-Treaſurer; and of *Agathocles*, by the Name of Governor of *Sicily* and the Iſlands. This vain Humour being reported to theſe Princes, gave None of them any other Emotion, than that of deriding the inſolent Extravagancies of *Demetrius*; only *Lyſimachus* reſented it with deep Indignation, it being in effect to reproach Him, as being an Eunuch; Such being in thoſe Days uſually deputed to the Office of Treaſurers; which made *Lyſimachus*, who mortally hated him for this Indignity and Affront, to reproach him with his Amours to *Lamia*; of whom he ſaid, *it was the firſt time he ever ſaw a Miſs act on the Theatre.* Which, when it was told *Demetrius*, *Well!* ſaid he, *I would have* Lyſimachus *know*,

*know, that my Miſs is more honeſt and virtuous than his* Penelope.

But to proceed: *Demetrius* being about to return to *Athens*, ſignified by his Letters to the City, that he had a Deſire to be enrolled in the Fraternity of the Prieſts of *Ceres*, and his Requeſt was, That, without attending the time commonly allotted from the Initials, to the Confirmation of Thoſe admitted into that Order, he might at once be admitted to the uſual Ceremonies and Myſteries which were to be performed upon that Occaſion: Now this was an Innovation abſolutely contrary to the Rules of the Foundation, and a Thing which had never been allowed before; for from immemorial Antiquity the leſſer Myſteries were celebrated in the Month of *November*, and the great Solemnity in *October* following; ſo that conſequently none of the Novices were admitted to the Latter, 'till they had at leaſt ſpent an intire Year in the State of Probationer: Yet all this notwithſtanding, when, in the publick Aſſembly, theſe Letters of *Demetrius* were produced and read, there was not one ſingle Perſon who had the Courage to oppoſe them, except *Pythodorus* the Prieſt, who was Torch-bearer in thoſe Solemnities; but it ſignified nothing; for *Stratocles*, who was always wickedly ingenious, propoſed as an Expedient, that the Month of *March*, then current, ſhould by Edict be taken and reputed to be the Month of *November*; which being as ſoon agreed as offered, and *Demetrius* thereby admitted to the leſſer Ceremonies; by another Vote, they turned the ſame Month of *March* into the Month of *October*; by which Contrivance, *Demetrius* was alſo gratified with being an Actor in the Greater, and was admitted to the moſt ſecret Myſteries of that Solemnity; which gave the Comedian *Philipides* an Occaſion to exerciſe his Wit upon *Stratocles* in this Couplet:

*Prodigious Skill! how ſtrangely flattering Fear*
*Into one Month hath crowded all the Year.*

And upon his having propoſed, that *Demetrius* ſhould lodge in the Temple of *Minerva* within the Caſtle, theſe;

Stratocles *thinks it is no Sin,*
*To turn a Temple to an Inn;*
*Or with lewd wanton Company,*
*To blaſt* Minerva's *Chaſtity.*

Moſt certain it is, that the flagitious Crimes which were then commited, deſerved a ſevere Satire. And *Demetrius* Himſelf did in ſome meaſure ſcourge their mad Impiety by his unbounded Inſolencies; but That which did above all other things regret the *Athenians*, was, That having given Command, that they ſhould with all Expedition raiſe for his Service two hundred and fifty Talents, and They to comply with his Demands, being forced to levy it upon the People, with the Severity of taking Diſtreſſes; when they preſented him with the Money, which they had with ſuch Difficulty raiſed, as if it were a trifling Sum, he commanded it to be given to *Lamia*, and the reſt of his Women, to buy them perfumed Waſh-Balls for their Baths; by which kind of Treatment, it is a Queſtion, whether the Shame or the Loſs, the manner of his contemptuous Expreſſion, or the parting with their Money, was the more galling Affliction to thoſe fooliſh People; tho' the Story is variouſly reported; and Some affirm, it was the *Theſſalians*, and not the *Athenians*, who were thus treated by him. But however, This is moſt certain, that *Lamia* ſqueezed conſiderable Sums of Money from them, upon Pretence of making a great Entertainment for him; and in Truth the Supper was of that Magnificence and Plenty, and managed with ſo much Skill and pleaſing Variety, that *Lyncæus* of *Samos*, who was preſent at it, thought it worth his pains to write a Deſcription of it. Upon this Occaſion, one of the comical Wits of the Town gave *Lamia* the Name of *Helepolis*; ſaying, She alone was an Engine ſufficient, without any other, to deſtroy a City. And *Demochares* of *Solis* gave

*Demetrius*

*Demetrius* the Appellation of *Mythos*, which ſignifies a Tale or Fable; becauſe, ſaid he, *There is never a Tale but has its Witch or* Lamia *at the end on't*; *and* Demetrius *has His* Lamia *too.*

In ſhort, he was betwitched with this Woman to that degree, as for her Sake, not only to draw upon himſelf the Envy and Jealouſy of all his Wives, but the Hatred even of the beſt of his Friends; as appears by this Inſtance. *Lyſimachus*, ſhewing to the Ambaſſadors of *Demetrius* the Scars of thoſe Wounds which he had received upon his Thighs and Arms, by the Paws of the Lion, with which *Alexander*, in one of his furious Humours, had obliged him to combat, they ſmiling, replied, *That the King their Maſter was not without His Scars, but could ſhew upon his Neck the Marks of a* Lamia, *a no leſs dangerous and furious Beaſt than That with which He had encountered.* And if ſhe was not a real Enchantreſs, it is very odd and unaccountable, that *Demetrius* ſhould ſhew ſo great an Averſion to marry *Phila*, by reaſon of the Diſproportion of her Age, when yet he was ſo paſſionate of *Lamia*, who was ſo far paſt the Meridian of her Years, as to ſtand in need of other Charms beſides Thoſe of Youth and Beauty. She had indeed a delicate Voice, and moſt admirable Touch upon the Lute, with which *Demetrius* was extremely delighted; and one Evening, after ſhe had entertained him with that ſoft Muſick all the time he was at Supper, he demanded of *Dema*, whom, for her blunt way of ſpeaking any thing to him, they uſually called *Mad* Dema; *What ſay you*, Dema? *How ſeems ſhe to you now? Truly Sir*, replied *Dema*, *ſhe ſeems to me to be an old Woman.* And *Demetrius*, another time at Supper, when the Deſert was put on, reſuming the ſame Diſcourſe, *Here* Dema, ſaid he, *ſee what delicious Fruit* Lamia *has ſent me*; *In troth, Sir*, replied ſhe, *if you will lie with my Mother, I will undertake ſhe ſhall ſend you much finer.* It is alſo reported of this *Lamia*, how ſhe oppoſed the famous Sentence of *Bocchoris*, the *Ægyptian* Judge, on this manner: A certain young Spark, being wonderfully

ſmitten

ſmitten with the Charms of a celebrated Courteſan, whoſe Name was *Thonis*, the inſatiable Proſtitute, thinking to make Advantage of his laſcivious Folly, promiſed ſhe would be at his Service; but withal, demanded ſo great a Sum, as he either was not able to give, or at leaſt thought too great a Price to purchaſe the Repentance of parting with it for one Night's Lodging: But it ſeems his Imagination, which was ſharp ſet upon what he had treated of in the Day, preſented him with the Poſſeſſion of her in a Dream; and the Shadow being much cheaper, and poſſibly wholſomer than the Subſtance, he was contented to have the *Thonis* of his Fancy, and his Money too. But the confident Woman having heard the Story, with the Effrontery of that unbluſhing Tribe, commences a Suit againſt him, and lays her Action for ſo much Money as ſhe had demanded of him; alledging, it was but juſt that ſhe ſhould have Satisfaction, ſince he confeſt he had had his Bargain: *Bocchoris*, who thought it the greateſt Juſtice to put an Affront upon ſuch Confidence, adviſed the Youth to bring into the Court ſo much Money as ſhe had demanded, and to count it over, ſo as *Thonis* might hear the Noiſe; which being done accordingly, *Miſtreſs*, ſaid *Bocchoris*, *you may go about your Buſineſs if you pleaſe, for you are paid in your own Coin, one Fancy being as good as Another.* But *Lamia*, who, it ſeems, would turn Advocate for one of her own Profeſſion, moved in Arreſt of Judgment, That the Sentence was no way equal, in regard, that the Deſire which *Thonis* had to finger the Money, was in no ſort ſatisfied by hearing it chink, but rather increaſed; whereas, on the contrary, the Youth was abundantly ſatisfied with the Enjoyment of *Thonis* in the Entertainment of his amorous Imaginations: But enough of *Lamia*; let us now return to *Demetrius*, whoſe Fortune beginning to bend her Brows, will conduct us from the Comical, to the more Tragical Occurrences, and darker Scenes, of his following Life.

For now all theſe Kings whom he had diſobliged, or who were jealous of his growing Ambition and formida-

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ble Power, entered into a ſtrong Confederacy againſt Him and his Father *Antigonus*; and aſſembling their united Strength, *Demetrius* was conſtrained to abandon *Greece*, and to join with his Father, to weather the Storm which was gathering from all Quarters, and threatened to diſcharge its Violence upon their Heads. *Antigonus*, upon the Occaſion of this War, ſhewed a Courage and Fierceneſs much diſproportionate to his Years; he was a Prince of an undaunted Spirit, and could he but have preſerved a little Temper in his vain Ambition, and not have aſpired to an abſolute Sovereignty over the other Princes, Succeſſors of *Alexander*, who were his Equals, he might in all Probability not only have continued in the firſt Rank of them All, but have left that Honour to his Deſcendants; but he was of a violent and haughty Spirit, much addicted to undervalue all other Princes, and to treat them both in his Words and Actions more inſolently than was either conſiſtent with his Intereſt, his Prudence, or the Honour due to Kings; and though by this raſh Freedom of his Language, he had drawn a formidable Power of the moſt conſiderable Princes againſt him; yet when he firſt heard of the Confederacy, he could not forbear deſpiſing the Confederates, by a Vanity peculiar to him, declaring *he would diſſipate and diſſolve that Confederacy with as much eaſe as he would diſperſe a Parcel of Birds feeding in a Corn-field, who would take to the Wing at the leaſt Noiſe, and the caſting of a Stone in among them.*

So ſoon as the Troops which compoſed the Groſs of his Army could be brought together, *Antigonus* took the Field at the Head of ſeventy thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, and ſeventy five Elephants. His Enemies were little inferior to him in Number of Men; for they had ſixty four thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand five hundred Horſe; but they far ſurpaſſed him in Elephants, of which they brought four hundred into the Field, and a hundred and twenty Chariots of War.

When theſe two formidable Armies approached near, there happened an odd kind of Alteration in the Humour of

of *Antigonus*; and though his Courage and Reſolution received no great Abatement, yet his Hope and Confidence ſeemed ſomething to flag and hang their Wings; for whereas formerly there was wont to be a certain joyous Fierceneſs dwelling in his Eyes, and he uſed to ſpeak boldly and bravely, and even in his Encounters to drop ſome witty Ralleries, to encourage his Soldiers, he now became very thoughtful, ſilent, and retired: One Day above all the reſt, taking *Demetrius* along with him, he ſhewed him to the Captains, and the whole Army, which was drawn out upon this Occaſion, and recommended him to them, as his declared Succeſſor. Theſe uncuſtomary Actions occaſioned ſome Admiration in Thoſe who obſerved them; but That which increaſed the Wonder, was, that now he took *Demetrius* into his moſt ſecret Counſels; whereas formerly he never uſed to communicate his Deſigns to any Perſon; but when he had reſolved any thing, to give out his peremptory Commands for the Execution; inſomuch that it is reported, that when *Demetrius* was a Youth, he inquiring of the King what time the Army ſhould decamp: He anſwered him in a little Paſſion, *Why do you trouble yourſelf about That? Are You the only Perſon afraid that you ſhall not hear the Trumpet?*

But there were other very ominious Preſages, beſides this Change in the Humour of *Antigonus*, which according to the Superſtition of thoſe times, abated the Hopes and Courage of the Army: For in his Dream, the great *Alexander*, compleatly armed, ſeemed to appear to *Demetrius*, and demanded of him, what *Word* they intended to give in the time of the Battle? And *Demetrius* anſwering, That he intended the *Word* ſhould be *Jupiter* and *Victory*: *Well then I ſee*, ſaid *Alexander*, turning ſhort from him with an Air of Diſpleaſure, *you have no Service for me; I will go over to your Enemies, who, I am aſſured, will entertain me with Joy.* And the very Morning of the Combat, as the Armies were drawing up, *Antigonus* going out of the Door of his Tent, by ſome Accident or other, ſtumbled, ſo that he fell flat upon

upon the Ground, and bruiſed himſelf very ſorely: This He, as well as Others, took for no good Augury; and therefore, ſo ſoon as he had recovered his Feet, lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, *O ye immortal Gods*, cried he, *if you ſo pleaſe, I beg a Victory from you this Day; but if That cannot be granted, let me obtain the Favour of Death at your Hands, and that I may not live and bluſh to ſee myſelf vanquiſhed, and with ſhame ſurvive my dying Glory.*

When the two great Armies had for ſome time faced One the Other, the Signal being given, after whole Showers of Arrows, which obſcured the very Sun, had been exchanged, as the firſt Compliments of Death, they quickly came to Handy-Blows; and *Demetrius*, who commanded the greateſt and beſt part of the Cavalry, gave ſuch a furious Charge upon *Antigonus* the Son of *Seleucus*, that unable to endure the Shock, He and the Body which he commanded turned their Backs and fled; and *Demetrius*, tranſported with the Succeſs, purſued them ſo eagerly, and ſo far, as that it fatally loſt him the Day; for when, perceiving his Error, he would have come into the Aſſiſtance of his own Infantry, he was not able, the Enemy with their Elephants having cut off his Retreat; and on the other hand, *Seleucus* obſerving the main Battle of *Antigonus* left naked of their Horſe, he made an Offer of charging them in the Front; but then ſuddenly by wheeling about, as if he intended to attack them in the Flank and Rear, he thereby gave Opportunity to Thoſe among them, who had before reſolved it, perfidiouſly to revolt from *Antigonus*, and come over to his Party, as great Numbers of them did; and This put the reſt into ſuch a Conſternation, no Man knowing who were Friends, and who Enemies, that the whole Army was inſtantly put to the Rout. In this amazing State of his Affairs, the old King *Antigonus* ſtill kept his Poſt; and when a ſtrong Body of the Enemies drew up to charge him, One of thoſe about him, ſeeing it, cried out to him, *Sir, conſider with yourſelf what you will do; do you not ſee*

*that*

*that Party which are coming down upon you?* to which he only replied, *Let them come if they dare*; Demetrius *will come in to my Reſcue and Aſſiſtance!* There was his laſt Hope: But alas! it was in vain; for after he had looked on every ſide to ſee if he could perceive *Demetrius*, he was with a Storm of Arrows, Darts and Javelins, born down dead upon the Earth; where being fallen, there remained with him of all the numerous Company of his flattering Followers, not one to take care of his Body after his Death, beſides *Thorax* of *Lariſſa*; thus ended this fatal Battle, and thus the Life of the unfortunate *Antigonus*.

After the unlucky event of this deciding Combat, the Kings who had gained the Victory tore all the Empire, which *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* had poſſeſſed, into Pieces, and ſhared thoſe large Territories among Themſelves. As for the unfortunate *Demetrius*, He with five thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe marched with great Haſte to the City of *Epheſus*, where being arrived, it was the common Opinion that he would ſeize upon the Treaſures of *Diana*'s Temple, to enable him to raiſe Recruits, and put himſelf into a Capacity to arreſt the Progreſs of his Enemies Arms, and endeavour to re-inſtate himſelf in his former Empire; but he was ſo far from That, that fearing leſt his Soldiers might be tempted to make ſome ſuch impious Attempt, he haſted from thence, and embarking the ſmall Remains of his Army, he ſailed for *Athens*; for there it was that he had placed his greateſt Hopes, having left there the beſt part of his Navy, his Treaſure, and his Queen *Deidamia*; and from Them he had not the leaſt Doubt, but he ſhould in this Extremity find a ſeaſonable and conſiderable Aſſiſtance. And conſidering what he had done for them, it is no wonder if *Demetrius* was exceedingly ſurpriſed, when at the Iſlands of the *Cyclades* the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors met him with this ingrateful Meſſage, that he muſt not think of a Retreat to *Athens*, for that the People had made a Decree, that no crowned Head ſhould be received into their City; as

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for his Queen *Deidamia*, they conveyed her honourably with attendance ſuitable to her Quality to *Megara*.

*Demetrius*, who had hitherto warded all the Croſs-blows of Fortune with a dextrous Conſtancy, and marvellous height of Courage, was not able to bear This without Tranſports and Emotions: It was impoſſible for them to reflect upon his former Favours to them, or without the moſt ſenſible Reſentment and Diſpleaſure find all thoſe Applauſes and Honours, with which they had oppreſſed him in his more proſperous Eſtate, ſo falſe and treacherous, as that, contrary to his laſt Hopes and reaſonable Expectances, they ſhould ſo baſely deſert him in this important turn of Affairs; and from thence he drew a clear Inference, *That there can be nothing more uncertain than the Judgment that is drawn of the Felicity of Princes and Potentates, from the airy Honours and ſervile Flatteries of a Populace; ſince it is difficult if not impoſſible to determine, whether thoſe extraordinary Heats of popular Favour are the Effects of their Inclinations, with reſpect to the Virtue and Merit, or of their Fears of the Power of great and proſperous Princes; and that the People are equally tranſported into Extremes, both by Fear and Love.* And therefore Judicious Princes are wiſely accuſtomed, not to value themſelves ſo much upon the erecting of Statues, Triumphant Arches, or paying even divine Honours to them, as upon the Foundation of their own juſt Actions and Deportment, being aſſured, that nothing is more common than for the unconſtant Multitude to hate exceſſively Thoſe, who receive immoderate Honours from them, even then when they ſeem moſt willingly to beſtow them.

But *Demetrius*, who found himſelf at that time not in a Condition to revenge the Affront, cunningly diſſembled his Reſentment, and only gently expoſtulated the Matter with the *Athenians*, by his Ambaſſadors, deſiring them, that ſince they would not permit him the Favour of coming to their City, that at leaſt they would be

ſo kind to ſend him his Gallies, among which there was one of thirteen Ranges of Oars: And This being accorded him, he ſailed to the *Iſthmus* of *Poloponneſus*, and finding his Affairs in a very ill Condition, his Garriſons being either taken, or revolted to the Enemy, he left *Pyrrhus* to attend the Affairs of *Greece*, and took his Courſe into *Cherſoneſus*, where he ravaged the Territories of *Lyſimachus*, and by the Booty which he took, both maintained and augmented his ſhattered Troops; nor did Any of the Other Princes once go about to impeach his Enterpriſes on that ſide; for *Lyſimachus* had as little Reaſon to be beloved for his Virtue, and as much to be feared for his Power, as *Demetrius*; and they were very well ſatisfied to be Spectaors to ſee them leſſen One the Other.

In the midſt of theſe Tranſactions, *Seleucus* ſent Ambaſſadors to treat with *Demetrius* for a Marriage betwixt Himſelf and the Fair *Stratonice*, the Daughter of *Demetrius* by the Princeſs *Phila*: It is true, that *Seleucus* had already a Son by *Apamia* the *Perſian* Lady, whoſe Name was *Antiochus*, but it was alſo true, that he was poſſeſſed of ſo many ſpacious Territories, as might well ſatisfy the Ambition of more than one Succeſſor: and that which the rather induced him to this Alliance with *Demetrius*, was that *Lyſimachus*, to ſtrengthen His Alliances had married himſelf to One of *Ptolemy*'s Daughters, and his Son *Agathocles* to Another. *Demetrius*, who looked upon the Offer as an unexpected piece of good Fortune, immediately imbarked himſelf and Daughter, and with his whole Fleet ſailed directly for *Syria*.

During this Voyage he was often obliged to touch upon ſeveral Coaſts, for the Benefit of Proviſions and freſh Water, and among other Places in *Cilicia*; which by the Appointment of the Kings, after the Defeat of *Antigonus*, was allotted to *Pliſtarchus* the Brother of *Caſſander*: *Pliſtarchus*, who took this Deſcent of *Demetrius* upon his Coaſts as an Infraction of the mutual Trea-

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ty betwixt the Confederate Princes, posted away to *Cassander*, to oblige him to expostulate the Matter with *Seleucus*, and to know the Reason, why he had entered into Amity with *Demetrius* the common Enemy, without first acquainting the other Confederates with his Intention. *Demetrius* receiving Information of This, laid hold of the Opportunity of his Absence, and suddenly tacking about, fell upon the City of *Quindon*, and surprised it, and in it a thousand two hundred Talents, being part of the Treasure which had been taken in the Battle from his Father *Antigonus*, and with this Prize he hasted to his Gallies, and embarking himself and his Troops he pursued his Voyage.

He was scarcely come to an Anchor on the Coast of *Syria*, before he was met by his Queen *Phílla*, the Mother of the beautiful Bride; and immediately after they landed, and were all received by *Seleucus* at the City of *Orossus*, with all the innocent Freedom and Royal Gallantry imaginable. First *Seleucus* treated *Demetrius* and his Retinue ashore, in a stately Pavilion in his Camp; and then *Demetrius* entertained his new Son-in-law in a most splendid manner aboard the Admiral Galley, the then Wonder of the Seas: All the Visits were made, to shew their mutual Confidence, without any armed Attendants; and the Solemnity was continued for many days, until at length *Seleucus* took his leave, and conducted the fair *Stratonice* to the City of *Antioch*, where they were welcomed with all the State and Solemnity suitable to such an Occasion.

In his return, *Demetrius* made a fresh Descent upon *Cilicia*, and when he had possessed himself of the whole Province, he sent his Queen *Phílla* to her Brother *Cassander*, to answer the Complaints of *Pliſtarchus*. And here Queen *Deidamia* came by Sea out of *Greece* to meet him, but by the Incommodiousness of that Passage, which was too rough for so delicate and tender a Constitution, she contracted an Indisposition, whereof she died soon after. Upon her Death, *Demetrius* by the Mediation

of *Seleucus* became reconciled to King *Ptolemy*, insomuch that he married his Daughter *Ptolemaida*: But the generous Deportment of *Seleucus* to this unfortunate Prince was not long-liv'd; for shortly after, desiring to have the Province of *Cilicia* from *Demetrius*, for which he offered him a Sum of Money, and being refused it, in great Indignation he then demanded of him the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, rather with a design to beget a Quarrel, than upon the least pretension of Right or Necessity; and certainly it was a very mean and unworthy Baseness in Him, who was possessed of all the vast Provinces between *India* and the *Syrian* Ocean, for two poor Cities, which he unjustly coveted, to disturb the Peace of his Father-in-law, who had already suffered so insupportable a change of Fortune; but herein he made good the Opinion of the Divine *Plato*, *That the certain way to be truly Rich, is not to be solicitous to increase a Fortune, as to give Limits to our own Desires.* For whoever is always grasping at more, confesses he is still in want, and is therefore miserable and poor, because in the midst of all his Affluence he wants that Contentment and Moderation of his Desires, which Only can render any Person Rich and Happy.

But *Demetrius*, whose Courage was not sunk with his Fortune, resolutely sent him this Answer, "That tho' "he were to lose never so many Battles, All of them "as fatal as That of *Ipsus*, he would never purchase "the Friendship of *Seleucus* at so tame a rate;" and therefore to secure them against his Attempts, he reinforced those strong Cities with sufficient Garrisons, and all manner of warlike Stores, to enable them to make a brave Defence against *Seleucus*, if his insatiable Ambition should tempt him to attack them. Having taken care of these important Places, and receiving Information that one *Lachares*, taking the Opportunity of their Civil Dissensions, had set up himself as an Usurper over the *Athenians*, he imagined, that if he made a sudden Attempt upon the City, he might now reduce it to his Obedience, and therefore with great Diligence he sailed with

with a powerful Navy towards *Greece*: But Fortune, who was now grown very uncourtly to him, treated him with ſo rough a Tempeſt, juſt when he came upon the Coaſt, that he loſt divers of his Veſſels, and a great Number of Soldiers which were aboard. As for Himſelf he eſcaped, and began to make a little kind of War with the *Athenians*, but finding it impoſſible to effect his Deſign, he ſent to aſſemble the reſt of his Fleet and Forces, which had been diſperſed by the late Storm, and with thoſe Troops which he had he marched and laid Siege to the City of *Meſſena*. While he lay before this Place, he ran one of the greateſt Dangers of his whole Life, for in making an Attack upon the Town, an Arrow from an Engine ſtruck him full in the Mouth, and paſſed clear through his Jaw; but by the Skill and Care of the Surgeons, it was not long before it was healed: and as ſoon as he was in a Condition to take the Field, he regained divers Cities which had revolted from him, and made an Incurſion into the Territories of the *Athenians*, where he took *Eleuſina* and *Rhamnus*, and waſted all the whole Country thereabout. And that he might ſtraiten the *Athenians* by cutting off all manner of Proviſion, a Veſſel laden with Corn bound thither, falling into his Hands, he ordered the Maſter and Merchant who had freighted her to be immediately hanged, thereby to ſtrike a Terror into Others, that ſo they might not adventure to ſupply the City with Proviſions; by which means they were reduced to ſuch Extremities, that a Buſhel of Salt was worth forty Drachmas of Silver, and a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold at the exceſſive Rate of Three hundred. In this Diſtreſs, *Ptolemy* had ſent to their Relief an hundred and fifty Gallies, which came ſo near as to Anchor before *Egina*, but this ſhort Blaze of Hope was ſoon extinguiſhed by the Arrival of three hundred Sail which came to the Aſſiſtance of *Demetrius* from *Cyprus*, *Pelponneſus* and other Places, which ſtruck ſuch a panick Fear into the *Ægyptians*, that they cut and ſlipped their Anchors, and with Sails and Oars ſtood away for *Ægypt*; which the Tyrant *Lycharis* under-

ſtanding, he inſtantly quitted the City, in order to his own Safety and Preſervation.

And now the *Athenians*, who, before by a popular Edict, had made it Capital for any Perſon ſo much as to propoſe a Treaty, or Accommodation with *Demetrius*, were compelled to ſend Ambaſſadors to him, not ſo much out of hopes of obtaining any honourable Conditions from his Clemency, as out of pure Neceſſity, and to avoid a lingering Death by Famine, a domeſtick Enemy, which they were not able to reſiſt; for this imperious Tyrant had reduced them to thoſe Extremities that there happened many odd Adventures during the time of the Siege, the effects of his irreſiſtible power: Among which this Story is very remarkable, that one day a Father with his Son ſitting diſconſolately in their Houſe, lamenting their deplorable Condition, which had not left them any thing to ſuſtain their Lives, a dead Rat happened to drop from the Cieling between them; whereupon they immediately fell into a mortal Scuffle, Which of them ſhould have the Veniſon for his Dinner. And in this Famine, the Philoſopher *Epicurus*, ſo celebrated for indulging his Appetite, was forced to ſave his Own, and the Lives of his Scholars, by a ſmall Quantity of Beans, which by number were every Day diſtributed to them.

In this miſerable Condition was the City when *Demetrius* made his publick Entrance, and he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the Place, but he made Proclamation, that all the Inhabitants ſhould inſtantly aſſemble in the publick Theatre; which being done he ſurrounded them with his armed Troops, ſetting alſo a ſtrong Guard about the Stage. This adminiſtred no ſmall Terror and Perplexity to the amazed People, who looked for nothing leſs than a Tragedy of Executions; but it was not long before he diſſipated thoſe Fears, for entring the Stage in Perſon by the Paſſage through which the Actors uſed to enter, he made an Oration to them, wherein he only gently reprehended their former ill Treatment of him, but withal told them, that he would receive them again into his

Grace

Grace and Favour: And that it might appear his Intentions were real, he beſtowed amongſt them the welcome Donative of an hundred thouſand Buſhels of Wheat; and to ingratiate himſelf the more, he promoted ſuch Perſons into the Offices of the Magiſtracy as he knew to be moſt agreeable to the People; ſo that nothing now was heard but loud Acclamations of Joy among the *Athenians*, and the Stages reſounded with Speeches in the Praiſe of *Demetrius*; all the celebrated Orators of the City vying with one another in Commendation of his Generoſity; and upon this Occaſion the Orator *Dromoclides* propoſed a Decree, that the Port of *Pyreus*, and the ſtrong Citadel of *Munychia*, might be put into the Power of *Demetrius*, to uſe them at his own Diſcretion, which was no ſooner offered than paſſed by unanimous ſuffrage of the People, and *Demetrius* having put ſtrong Garriſons into thoſe two Places, by his own Authority placed another in the *Muſeum*, to the end that thoſe People, who had ſhewed ſo much Levity in their Diſpoſitions, might be kept in Subjection, and not by their future Perfidies be able to divert him from the Proſecution of his other Enterpriſes.

He had not been long Maſter of *Athens* before he had formed a Deſign againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, of which *Archidamus* their King being advertiſed, he to prevent it drew out an Army, and marched againſt *Demetrius*; but in this wiſe Method of carrying War out of his own Territories, he had not Fortune anſwerable to his Courage, for he was overthrown in a Battle near the City *Mantinea*; and *Demetrius* following his Blow entred the *Laconian* Confines, and in a ſecond Battle defeated him almoſt within View of the City of *Sparta*, wherein two hundred *Lacedæmonians* were ſlain, and five hundred taken Priſoners; and now it was eſteemed almoſt impoſſible for the Virgin City of *Sparta*, which hitherto had never ſubmitted to a Conqueror, to eſcape being raviſhed by his victorious Arms. But certainly, there never was any Prince upon whom Fortune made ſuch ſhort turns, mounting him to the Pinacles of Hope and Glory,

Glory, from thence to precipitate him into the utmoſt Deſpair and Miſery: To-day he would be great and potent, to-morrow weak and broken, even almoſt beyond the Relief of Hopes or Miracles; which made him ſometimes in the low Ebb of his adverſe Condition reproach that inconſtant Goddeſs with theſe Verſes of the Poet *Æſchylus:*

*Fortune, of all the Deities moſt vain,*
*Does lift me up, to throw me down again.*

Nor was there any Period of his Life in which ſhe appeared more capricious than in this Rencounter; for when all things ſeemed ſo glorioufly to conſpire, not only to the Re-eſtabliſhing, but Enlargement of his Greatneſs and Empire, an Expreſs arrived, which brought him the diſmal Account, that *Lyſimachus*, with a mighty Army, had taken all the Cities of which he was poſſeſſed in *Aſia:* Nor was this a ſingle Misfortune, for at the ſame time he was informed, that *Ptolemy* had ſubdued the whole Iſland of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamine*, where his Mother and Children were cloſely beſieged, and in extreme Danger; by which ſurpriſing Intelligence, the City of *Sparta* was delivered from that imminent Fear and Danger.

But yet Fortune ſeemed to flatter him with Hopes upon another Occaſion, treating him like the Woman in the Play of *Archilocus.*

*Who Water in one cheating Hand did ſhow,*
*Whilſt in the other dreadful Fire did glow.*

For *Caſſander* King of *Macedon* dying, and his eldeſt Son, who ſucceeded him, not long Surviving his Father, the two younger Brothers fell at Variance concerning the Succeſſion; and *Antipater* having barbarouſly murdered his own Mother *Theſſaloniæ*, *Alexander* the younger Brother, fearing his ſavage and outrageous Inclinations, called into his Aſſiſtance *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, and *Demetrius*,

*Demetrius*, who was then in *Peloponneſus*: *Pyrrhus* made all imaginable Expedition to his Succour, and did it effectually; but for a Recompence he held a great part of the Country which he had taken from *Antipater*, which begot a Suſpicion in *Alexander*, that he had brought upon himſelf a dangerous Neighbour; and that he might not run a greater Hazard from *Demetrius*, whoſe Ambition, Power, and Reputation among the *Macedonians*, was ſuch as might well create a Jealouſy of him; this young Prince therefore poſted away to the City of *Deinon*, where he underſtood *Demetrius* was come with his Army, in Compliance with the Requeſt he had made him by his Letters; when he arrived there he applied himſelf with great Reſpects to *Demetrius*, and returned him high Acknowledgments for his Readineſs to aſſiſt him, but withal gave him to underſtand, that now his Affairs were in ſo good a Poſture, that he had no Occaſion to give him any further Trouble; and thereupon invited him to an Entertainment which he had provided for him, in ſome meaſure to ſhew how ſenſible he was of his Favours. But as *Demetrius* was about to go to the Place of Aſſignation, one came and whiſpered in his Ears, that there was a Train laid, that in the midſt of the Jollity *Demetrius* was to be taken off. *Demetrius*, who before began to ſuſpect the Treachery of *Alexander*, ſeemed not much concerned, but making only a little leſs haſte, he ſent to the principal Officers of his Army, commanding them to draw out the Soldiers, and make them ſtand to their Arms, and ordered Thoſe of his Retinue to attend him into the very Room of the Entertainment, and not to ſtir from thence, 'till they ſaw him riſe from the Table. In this Equipage he came to *Alexander*, and his Servants who were to have performed the Execution, finding themſelves overpowered, had not Courage to attempt any thing upon him; and indeed *Demetrius* gave them no Opportunity, for he made a very ſhort Viſit, and pretending to *Alexander*, that he was not at preſent diſpoſed to be a good Companion, in regard that he had juſt now received Advices,

vices, which obliged him by the Neceſſity of his Affairs to march away with his Army the next Day; he therefore deſired his Excuſe for the preſent, aſſuring him, that he would do himſelf the Honour to wait upon him, when his Affairs would permit him better Leiſure.

*Alexander* was extremely overjoyed, not only at this Reſolution of his Departure, but that it appeared voluntary, and without any ſort of Diſguſt, for he did not know that his plot was diſcovered; and therefore in a Compliment, he would by all means accompany *Demetrius* unto the Confines of his Dominions. When they were arrived at *Lariſſa* a City of *Theſſaly*, new Invitations paſſed between them, which were the outward Appearances of Reſpect and Civility, but ſecretly intended for each other's Deſtruction; and this young Prince, who thought to avoid a ſecond Miſcarriage in his deſign againſt the Life of *Demetrius*, drew the Misfortune upon himſelf; for going to an Invitation which *Demetrius* had made him, that he might bring him into a like Security and Confidence by his Example, he diſmiſſed his ordinary Guards, and went ſlenderly attended with ſome of his moſt particular Friends; when they had ſat a little time, *Demetrius* haſtily ariſing from the table, the ſurpriſing young Prince roſe alſo, and followed him juſt to the Door, where *Demetrius*, as he paſſed through, only ſaid to the Guards, *Kill him that follows me.* Which being *Alexander*, they immediately diſpatched him, and ſuch of his Friends as endeavoured to come to his Reſcue, one of which, before he died, ſaid, *You have prevented us but by one Day.*

It is very eaſy to apprehend, that this Action made the Night paſs over with great Fears and Diſorders, among the *Macedonians* who followed *Alexander*; nor was the Horror of the Darkneſs much relieved by the ſucceeding Beams of that Day, which they had reaſon to ſuſpect, from the Power and Reſentments of *Demetrius*, would be their laſt; but theſe Fears were diſſipated with the Darkneſs, for there was not any manner of Violence offer'd them; but *Demetrius* ſent and invited them into his

his preſence, for that he was deſirous to give them Satisfaction, for what had happened to *Alexander*: It is not difficult to believe that they went chearfully to give him the hearing, and therefore *Demetrius* having acquainted them with the Baſeneſs and Treachery of *Alexander*, and his good Intentions toward them, there was no neceſſity to make a long Harangue to draw thoſe to his Party, who ſaw their Lives lay at his Mercy; beſides, there being none remaining of the Family of *Caſſander*, but only *Antipater*, whoſe Hands yet bluſhed with the Blood of the Queen his Mother, and who for his abominable Parricide was equally infamous and odious to the People, and not being ſenſible of a Perſon more worthy than *Demetrius*, upon whom they might, if at Liberty, fix their Choice, they inſtantly proclaimed Him King of *Macedon*, whereupon he preſently returned to take poſſeſſion of his new Kingdom, which Fortune had ſo unexpectedly thrown into his Arms. Nor was this Choice at all diſagreeable to the reſt of the *Macedonians* who remained at home, who had not yet forgot their Reſentments againſt *Caſſander*, for his deteſtable Treachery to *Alexander* the Great, of whom they ſuſpected Him to have been the cruel Murderer: And all that Kindneſs which they had formerly had for *Antipater* the Father of *Caſſander*, was now centred upon *Demetrius*, who had married his Grand-child *Phila*; and the young Prince which he had by her, who was now in the Trade of War, under the Conduct of his Father *Demetrius*. And to add to this unexpected good Fortune, an Expreſs arrived, which brought him the welcome News, that *Ptolemy* had generouſly diſmiſſed his Mother and Children, beſtowing upon them magnificent Preſents and Honours; and alſo that his Daughter *Stratonice*, whom he had married to *Seleucus*, was, by a pretty kind of Adventure, re-married to *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, and Crowned Queen of all the Provinces of Upper *Aſia*: Which happened thus.

This Prince *Antiochus* became paſſionately in Love with the beautiful *Stratonice* the young Queen, who had now

now made *Seleucus* the Father of a little Son. He ſtruggled at firſt very hard with the Beginnings of this extravagant Paſſion, but finding on the one Hand an Impoſſibility to extinguiſh thoſe Flames her fair Eyes had kindled, and on the other, that it was equally difficult to obtain his Deſires, he ſaw no other Remedy for his hopeleſs Misfortune, but what was to be expected from Deſpair and Death, which he therefore reſolved upon, and in order to it, by feigning an Indiſpoſition, to languiſh out his amorous Soul, by obſtinately refuſing all manner of Nouriſhment for the ſupport of his Life. *Eraſiſtratus*, the Phyſician who attended him, quickly perceived, that Love was his Diſtemper, but all the Difficulty was to diſcover the Object of his Flame; he therefore diligently waited in his Chamber, and when any of the charming beauties of the Court made their Viſits to the ſick Prince, he curiouſly obſerved the Emotions and Alterations in the Countenance of *Antiochus*, which he well knew, were wont upon ſuch Surpriſes, to betray the inward Paſſions and Inclinations of the Soul: He therefore took notice, that the Preſence of the Court Ladies wrought no manner of Alteration in him; but when *Stratonice* came alone, or in Company with *Seleucus*, to make him a Viſit, he obſerved in him all thoſe Symptoms of a moſt violent Paſſion, which are ſo tenderly expreſſed by the ingenious *Sappho*, he became ſuddenly mute and ſilent, his Paſſion ſmothering his Words, a fiery Bluſh would mount into his Face, he would fix his Eyes upon *Stratonice*, and then preſently withdraw thoſe ſtolen and guilty Looks; his Pulſe would be diſordered, a cold Sweat would ſeize upon him, and unable to ſupport the violent Paſſion, he would become ſenſeleſs and pale as that Death which he ſo much deſired.

*Eraſiſtratus*, from thoſe infallible Symptoms, manifeſtly perceived that *Stratonice* was the dear Object of his Paſſion, and that he had taken a Reſolution rather to periſh than diſcover his Love; he evidently ſaw that he was in danger of his Life, if he did not find out ſome Way, to apply the only Remedy which was capable of giving

giving him Recovery; and yet he could not but tremble to think of making a Diſcovery of that nature to *Seleucus*; but conſidering the extraordinary Tenderneſs of *Seleucus* to the Prince; and the King one Morning enquiring of his Condition, he told him, *Sir, the Prince's Diſeaſe is Love, and he is incurable, becauſe it is impoſſible for him to enjoy the Object of his Paſſion, and impoſſible for him to live without it.* The King was extremely ſurpriſed at this Account which the Phyſician gave him, but would by no means be ſatisfied, 'till he underſtood how his Paſſion ſhould be incurable. *Why Sir,* replied *Eraſiſtratus, becauſe he is in Love with my Wife. How!* ſaid *Seleucus, will* Eraſiſtratus, *my Dear* Eraſiſtratus, *refuſe me the Kindneſs to beſtow his Wife upon my Son and Succeſſor; when there is no other way to ſave his Life? Nay then Sir,* replied *Eraſiſtratus, You who are his Father, and upon that Conſideration, ought to have all the Tenderneſs imaginable for a Son, pray would you take the Counſel which you give me; and if* Antiochus *were thus deſperately in Love with* Stratonice, *would you ſo eaſily reſign your Intereſt to him? Ah my dear Friend!* anſwered *Seleucus, may ſome kind God or Man put the ſafety of the Prince upon that Iſſue; I would part not only with* Stratonice, *but my Empire, upon Condition that I might preſerve* Antiochus, *my Deareſt* Antiochus; and with that the Tears forced themſelves a violent Paſſage over his aged Cheeks. Whereupon *Eraſiſtratus* taking him by the Hand, *Sir,* ſaid he, *you have then no need of the Aſſiſtance of* Eraſiſtratus, *for you, who are a Husband, a Father, and a King, are the moſt proper, and in this Caſe only Phyſician for your own Family; it is You only who can preſerve the Life of Prince* Antiochus, *by reſigning to him* Stratonice, *for that's his Diſeaſe.*

Whereupon *Seleucus* inſtantly ſummoning a Council of all his great Officers, declared unto them the State of this Affair, *and that he was reſolved to beſtow* Stratonice *upon the Prince, and to create Him King, and Her the Queen of all the Provinces of the Higher* Aſia; *telling them, that he thought he had ſo abſolute a Power over the*

*Prince's Will, that he hoped he ſhould find in him no Repugnance to obey his Commands; and for the Queen, he hoped all his Friends would endeavour to make Her ſenſible, if ſhe manifeſted any Reluctancy to this Marriage, that ſhe ought to eſteem thoſe things juſt and honourable, which were ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the general and publick Good.* And by theſe Arguments, *Stratonice* was perſuaded to this ſecond Marriage, which quickly reſtored the Health of *Antiochus*, and was celebrated with extraordinary Joy and Solemnity.

But to return to the Affairs of *Demetrius*: he having obtained the Crown of *Macedon*, and being poſſeſſed of *Theſſaly*, and the greateſt part of *Peloponneſus*, the Cities of *Megara* and *Athens*, the two Keys of the *Iſthmus*, he turned his victorious Arms againſt the *Bœotians*; theſe People at firſt made ſome Overture of an Accommodation, but *Cleonimus* of *Sparta* coming to their Aſſiſtance, and reinforcing the City of *Thebes* with a conſiderable Garriſon, and one *Piſis* a *Theſpian*, who had a great Influence upon the People, animating them to make a brave Reſiſtance, they brake off the Treaty and betook themſelves to Arms: But no ſooner had *Demetrius* begun to approach the Walls with his dreadful Engines, but *Cleonimus* affrighted at the ſight of them, ſecretly withdrew; and thereupon the *Bœotians* finding themſelves abandoned by this cowardly Confederate, ſurrendered to *Demetrius*, who put ſtrong Garriſons into the chiefeſt Towns, and having drawn a round Sum of Money from them, he placed *Hieronymus* the Hiſtorian as his Deputy-Governor; but as to the main, he treated thoſe vanquiſhed People very obligingly, and particularly *Piſis*, to whom he not only frankly reſtored his Liberty, but alſo made him Governor over the *Theſpians*.

It happened, not long after, that *Lyſimachus* had the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner by *Dromichœtes*, whereupon *Demetrius* haſted with his Army into *Thrace*, in Hopes that in the Diſorder, into which this Accident muſt have put the Affairs of that Province, he might find an Opportunity to repoſſeſs himſelf of it; but *Lyſi-*

*machus*

*machus* unexpectedly regaining his Liberty, and the newly-conquered *Bœotians* breaking out into a general Revolt, he was obliged to retire with his Army, and in great haſte, to look after his own Affairs at home. Upon his Return he found that his Son *Antigonus* had in Battle defeated the forces of the *Bœotians*, and therefore he immediately laid Siege to *Thebes*, whither they had retreated with their broken Forces; but underſtanding that *Pyrrhus* had made an Incurſion into *Theſſaly*, and that he was advanced as far as *Thermopylæ*, leaving *Antigonus* to continue the Siege, he marched with the reſt of his Army to oppoſe the King of *Epirus*; but *Pyrrhus* gave him no Occaſion to exerciſe his Courage; for upon the firſt News of his approach, he made a very haſty Retreat out of the Country, whereupon *Demetrius*, leaving ten thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe for the Guard of *Theſſaly*, he returned to the Siege of *Thebes*, and there he brought his dreadful Engine in order to ſtorm the City, but by reaſon of its unwieldy Bulk, and the Unevenneſs of the Ground, it was moved with ſuch Labour and Difficulty, that in two Months it did not advance two Furlongs: In the mean time the Citizens made a ſtout Defence, and *Demetrius*, who was reſolute to be revenged on them for their Perfidy, obſtinately maintained the Siege, and expoſed Himſelf and his Soldiers to very hard and dangerous Service, inſomuch that *Antigonus*, obſerving that many gallant Men daily loſt their Lives, being ſenſibly moved with Pity, he addreſſed himſelf to the King his Father, and finding him as he thought in good Humour, *Sir*, ſaid he, *I beſeech your Majeſty, what Reaſon is there to expoſe ſo many valiant Men to ſuch continual Danger, without a greater Neceſſity, when*---But *Demetrius* in a great Paſſion, without permitting him to proceed; *And you, good Sir, why do you afflict yourſelf for this matter, the more there are killed, the fewer there will be for you to provide for.* But that the Soldiers might ſee he valued his own Life at no dearer Rate than Theirs, he expoſed himſelf to the ſame Dangers to which he commanded Them; and in a deſperate Attack, which he one Day

made, he was wounded with a Javelin, which ſtruck quite through his Neck, and put him into very great Hazard of his Life; but notwithſtanding his Illneſs he continued the Siege, and in Concluſion took the Town; and after his Entrance, when the Citizens expected all the Severities which an incenſed Conqueror could inflict, he only put to Death thirteen of the Capital Rebels, and baniſhed ſome few others, graciouſly pardoning all the reſt: Thus the City of *Thebes*, after it had been raiſed from its Ruins, was twice taken in the ſpace of ten Years.

Shortly after, the Feſtivals of the *Pythian Apollo* being to be celebrated, and the *Ætolians* having blocked up all the Paſſages to *Delphi*, *Demetrius* cauſed them to be kept at *Athens*, alledging it was great reaſon thoſe Honours ſhould be paid to *Apollo* in that Place, both in regard he was the Tutelar Divinity of that City, and that the *Athenians* pretended to derive from Him their Original and Pedigree.

From thence *Demetrius* returned to *Macedon*, and being not only of a reſtleſs Temper Himſelf, but conſidering the Genius of the *Macedonians*, who were ever the beſt Subjects when employed in military Expeditions, but ſeditiouſly buſy and deſirous of Change in the idleneſs of Peace; he led them againſt the *Ætolians*, and having waſted their Country, he left *Pantauchus* with a great part of his Army to perfect the Conqueſt, and with the reſt he marched in Perſon to find out *Pyrrhus*; but ſo it fell out, that by taking different Ways, theſe two Armies did not meet, but whilſt *Demetrius* entered *Epirus*, and laid all waſte before him, *Pyrrhus* at the ſame time encountred *Pantauchus*, where in the heat of the Combat the two chief Commanders meeting, fought with, and wounded each other; but in concluſion Victory perched upon the Standards of *Pyrrhus*, who beſides great numbers ſlain upon the Place, took five thouſand Priſoners.

This Blow would not have been ſo conſiderable as to have given *Demetrius* any great hurt, had it not been, that

that *Pyrrhus*, by his brave and fierce Deportment in this Encounter, did not only win the Glory of the Field, but the Hearts of the inconſtant *Macedonians*; for now they began loudly to proclaim, that they ſaw in Him the very Picture of the hardy Courage and perſonal Bravery of their adored *Alexander*; whereas the other Kings his Succeſſors, and particularly *Demetrius*, they ſaid, reſembled him in nothing ſo much as in his extravagant Humours and haughty Vanity: And to ſay nothing but Truth, *Demetrius* was ſo affected in his Garb, as too nearly reſembled the Pageantry of the Theatre: For not only his Body was uſed to be clothed with the moſt exquiſite Works of the Needle in Gold, on Purple Robes, and his Head incircled with the uncommon Novelty of a double Diadem, but even his Shoes were made of curiouſly embroidered Purple with Golden Soles: And ſuch was the profuſe Vanity of this Prince, that he had commanded a Robe to be made for him, wherein with proud Art, there was to be wrought the Repreſentation of the Univerſe, Sea and Land, the Celeſtial Bodies and Figures of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which were to be imitated with the richeſt Diamonds that could be procured. But the Reverſe of his more gloomy Fortune overtaking him, the Work was never finiſh'd; but as it was, it was long preſerved as a Monument of his magnificent Vanity: Not any of the Kings of *Macedon* his Succeſſors, tho' divers of them were reported to be haughty enough, arriving to that degree of Pride, to have it finiſhed, or to adventure to wear it.

But it was not this outward Garb and Pomp alone which diſguſted the *Macedonians*, but his profuſe and diſſolute way of Living; and above all, the Difficulty of Acceſs to his Preſence was extremely diſobliging: For either he would not be ſeen at all by ſuch as attended long for diſpatch of their Affairs, or if he permitted them to come before him, he would treat them roughly and with Diſreſpect; nor were only private Perſons thus uſed by him, but even ſuch Miniſters as

negotiated publick Affairs: Thus he made the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors, to whom yet he was more civil than to all the other *Græcians*, attend two Years in his Court, before they could obtain an Audience from him; at another time when the *Lacedæmonians* ſent a ſingle Perſon on an Embaſſy to him, thinking it was done in Contempt, in great Indignation he demanded of him, *Whether the* Spartans *had but one Man that was fit to be ſent upon an Embaſſy, ſince they ſent no more?* To whom the Ambaſſador, according to the *Laconian* Mode, tartly replied; *Sure one Ambaſſador is enough to ſend to one King.*

It chanced one time that a Humour took him to be a little more than ordinarily Popular, and therefore going abroad, he was immediately accoſted by a Multitude of importunate Petitioners; he very courteouſly received their Supplications, and put up their Petitions in the Skirt of his Robe: The poor People overjoyed at this unuſual Grace and Favour followed him cloſe, in hopes to be preſently diſpatched in their Suits; but when he came upon the Bridge of the River *Axius*, opening his Lap, he dropped all the Petitions into the River. This Action did ſtrangely exaſperate the *Macedonians*, who ſeeing their Hopes and Petitions both drowned, looked upon it as a very injurious and unkingly Frolick; and this brought to their Remembrance, what Some of them had ſeen, and Others had heard related of King *Philip*, who by a pretty Accident was reclaimed from this diſobliging Humour: For that Prince being one day abroad, an old Woman made her application to him with a Petition; the King told her, he could not then diſpatch her, in regard he had Affairs of greater Importance upon his Hands; to which the old Woman in a pet replied, *What! Greater than doing Juſtice? If you refuſe to do Juſtice, pray lay aſide your Royalty, and leave being a King.* This ſharp Reprimand ſo nettled the King, that returning to the Palace, and ſetting all other matters apart, for ſeveral Days together he did nothing elſe, but receive the Complaints

plaints of All that would come, and redreſſed their real Grievances, to the general Contentment and Satisfaction of his People.

And certainly there is no Virtue more commendable or popular in a Prince, than Juſtice; which made *Timotheus* ſay that *Mars* is a great Tyrant, but Law, according to the incomparable *Pindar*, is the moſt glorious Queen of the Univerſe. And upon this Subject, *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, obſerves, that *Jupiter* did not beſtow upon Kings, terrible Engines or Ships of War for the deſtruction of Cities, but had committed the Oracles of Law and Juſtice to their Cuſtody, in order to their good Government and Preſervation, and that the moſt juſt Princes, and not the fierce and violent, were They who were honoured with the glorious Title of His Friends and Diſciples. But *Demetrius* was not at all ſolicitous of the Title of ſuch a King as reſembled the Gods; for diſdaining the Appellations of *Polieus*, or *Polioukos*, the Tutelary Preſerver of Cities, he rather affected the Name of *Poliorcetes*, the Deſtroyer of them. By his affected Folly miſtaking the very Nature of Vice and Virtue, placing his Glory in Injuſtice, and eſteeming baſe and ungenerous Actions, as if they had been the laudable Ornaments of a virtuous Prince.

But to return to the Hiſtorical purſuit of his Life: *Demetrius* being at *Pella* fell into a deſperate Malady, the true Daughter of Intemperance and Luxury; and while he lay ſtruggling with the Violence of the Diſtemper, *Pyrrhus* laying hold of this Occaſion, took from him the greateſt Part of *Macedon*, and advanced as far as the City of *Edeſſa*. But *Demetrius* recovering his Health, quickly recovered from him his Dominions alſo, and obliged *Pyrrhus* to content himſelf with his own Kingdom. And that he might not employ his whole time in theſe little Conflicts with a Neighbour, his Thoughts being fixed upon another Deſign, from which he was unwilling to be diverted by this petty War, he concluded a Peace with *Pyrrhus*. For now he had formed

formed a Deſign to endeavour the Recovery of the whole Empire which his Father had poſſeſſed; and his Preparations were every way ſuitable to his aſpiring Hopes, and the Greatneſs of the Enterpriſe. He gave out Commiſſions for the levying of ninety eight thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; and Orders for the building and rigging out a Fleet of five hundred Gallies; ſome to be built at *Athens*, others at *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Pella*. And ſo aſſiduous and diligent was he, in the forwarding of theſe vaſt Preparations, that he was continually poſting from Place to Place, to give Advice and Direction to the Carpenters and Artificers, for the building them more ſtrong and ſerviceable: And herein he was ſo great a Maſter, that the Artizans Themſelves, as well as all Others, were amazed, not ſo much at the Number, as at the ſtupendious Bulk and Contrivance of this extraordinary Navy; for hitherto there had never been a Galley with fifteen or ſixteen Ranges of Oars. It is true, that afterwards *Ptolemy Philopater* built a prodigious Galley of eighty Rows of Oars, which was two hundred and eighty Cubits in Length, and the Height of her from the Water to the Top of her Stern was forty eight Cubits, ſhe had four hundred Mariners, and four thouſand Rowers, and beſides there was a convenient ſtanding for very near three thouſand Soldiers to fight above the Decks. But this unwieldly Hulk, after all This, was only fit for Shew, and not for Service, for ſhe looked like an immoveable Caſtle upon the Water, and was not to be ſtirred without extreme Toil and Peril; whereas theſe Gallies of *Demetrius* were not the leſs ſerviceable for their Magnificence, but notwithſtanding their Beauty and Ornaments, were as light and nimble, as they were extraordinary and ſumptuous.

The Noiſe and Storm of theſe great Preparations, the like whereof had never been made ſince the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great, threatning to fall upon *Aſia*, awakened *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy* and *Lyſimachus*, to look to themſelves, which obliged them to enter into a Confederacy

Confederacy for their mutual Defence and Security: They therefore diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Pyrrhus*, to repreſent to him the neceſſity of rejecting the Peace he had made with *Demetrius*, and to perſuade him to give him a Diverſion, by making an Incurſion into *Macedon*; for that *Demetrius* had only concluded the late Peace with him, to be at liberty to proſecute his greater Deſigns, and that ſhould he become Victorious, he would too late be ſenſible of the Danger of ſo potent a Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* finding Reaſon in the Propoſition, preſently cloſed with them; ſo that in an Inſtant *Ptolemy* with a mighty Navy invaded *Greece*; *Lyſimachus* entred *Macedon* upon the ſide of *Thrace*, and *Pyrrhus* fell in upon that part next to *Epirus*, ſpoiling and waſting the whole Country. This was an unexpected Surpriſe to *Demetrius*; but however, leaving his Son *Antigonus* to look after the Affairs of *Greece*, he marched in great Diligence to the Relief of *Macedon*, and to oppoſe *Lyſimachus*: He was no ſooner arrived near the Frontier, but he received the ill News that *Pyrrhus* had taken the City of *Beræa*; and the Report being once gotten among the Soldiers, the whole Camp was filled with Diſorders and Confuſion, Cries and Lamentations; the Soldiers grew Inſolent and Mutinous, and beſtowing a thouſand Execrations upon *Demetrius*, they openly declared, that they would march home to take care of their Country, Friends and Families; but in reality the Deſign was to revolt to *Lyſimachus*.

*Demetrius* finding them in theſe Diſtempers, reſolved to remove further from *Lyſimachus*; for he judged, that though their former kindneſs to that Prince, under whoſe Conduct Many of them had ſerved in the Wars of *Alexander*, might make them unwilling to combat with Him; yet they would make no difficulty to oppoſe *Pyrrhus*, a Foreigner and Invader, who had ſpoiled their Country: but he found himſelf under great miſtakes in theſe Conjectures; for when he was advanced near to *Pyrrhus*, theſe Mutineers took occaſion to extol the Gallantry and Courage of *Pyrrhus*, his generous Uſage of

of Thoſe who had been his Priſoners, and to declare, that the Kingdom by the Fundamental Cuſtom, the Law of Antiquity, ought to devolve upon the braveſt Man; and in ſhort, to meditate a general Defection and Revolt: For at firſt ſome ſtraggling Parties only deſerted, but in a little time the whole Army broke out into an univerſal Mutiny; inſomuch that Some of them inſolently told him, that if he conſulted his own ſafety, he were beſt to make haſte to be gone; for that the *Macedonians* were reſolved no longer to hazard their Lives, to combat for the ſatisfaction of his Luxury and Ambition. Theſe were moderate Reproaches in Compariſon of ſome others which he was obliged to endure; and therefore eaſily gueſſing what would be the Iſſue, if he ſhould expoſe himſelf longer to their Rage, he retired to his Tent, and putting off the Imperial Purple, ſtole away in the diſguiſed Habit of a private Soldier; and he was no ſooner gone, but the Mutinous Army were all together by the Ears about the Plunder of his Tent; but *Pyrrhus* coming immediately, repreſſed their Fury, and took poſſeſſion of it Himſelf; and He, with *Lyſimachus*, parted the Realm of *Macedon* betwixt them, after *Demetrius* had poſſeſſed it juſt ſeven Years.

As for *Demetrius*, being thus ſuddenly deſpoiled of his Crown, he retired to *Caſſandria*, where Queen *Philla*, oppreſſed with inſupportable Grief, to ſee her Husband from the top of his Glory, reduced to the deſpicable Condition of a private and baniſhed Perſon, reproaching Fortune for her blind Inconſtancy, and overcome with the Violence of her Deſpair, took a fatal Potion, chooſing rather to end her Days with the quick Operation of a mortal Drug, than to languiſh out a miſerable Life in the tedious Delays of an adverſe Fortune. But *Demetrius* ſtudying how to repair the Shipwreck of his Affairs, departed for *Greece*, and there aſſembled all his Friends and Captains, who had formerly ſerved him, in order to the forming an Army to endeavour the Recovery of his former Dignity and Dominions; and one may well apply That of *Sophocles* concerning

concerning *Menelaus*, to the various Changes of this Prince's Eſtate.

*Mounted on Fortune's ever-rolling Wheel,*
*Like that inconſtant Deity I reel;*
*Or like the fickle Lady of the Night,*
*Who ſtill puts on a diff'rent Dreſs of Light,*
*A ſilver Cornet firſt adorns her Head,*
*And the pale Beauty ſtill doth larger ſpread,*
*'Till her grown Luſtre bluſhing Stars admire,*
*And hide their dim diminiſh'd Sparks of Fire;*
*But then her dwindling Glories fade again,*
*And are reduced to their former Wane.*

And certainly this changeable Planet was the exact Emblem of this Prince, whoſe Acceſſions of Glory, and Eclipſes of Honour, his Riſes and Falls are perfectly figured by her ſeveral Faces; for even when his expiring Glory ſeemed to give the laſt Gaſps, his Power would ſtrangely revive, and his Hopes flouriſh, as they did at this time, by the coming of divers Troops to his Aſſiſtance, which gave him encouragement to hope for the re-eſtabliſhment of his Affairs: He had not however, ſince his laſt Diſgrace, re-aſſumed the Royal Robe; whereupon a certain *Theban* ſeeing him in the mean Habit of a private Perſon, applied to him the Diſtich of *Eurypides*,

*Of an immortal God, again a Mortal made,*
*He courts* Iſmena's *Banks, and* Dircé's *cooler Shade.*

But ſo ſoon as he began to entertain a proſpect of Hope, he re-aſſumed the Regal Habit, and kept a little kind of Court at *Thebes*, though at the ſame time he reſtored their Democratick Government to that City.

As for the treacherous *Athenians*, in this Misfortune, they again baſely deſerted him, and to do him the greater Diſgrace, they diſplaced *Diphilus*, who was that Year the Prieſt of the two Tutelar Deities, and by a popular

popular Edict reſtored the Prieſthood to its ancient Form; and hearing that *Demetrius* grew very Powerful, they ſent to King *Pyrrhus*, to beg His Aſſiſtance and Protection. *Demetrius* juſtly enraged againſt them for their repeated Perfidies marched to *Athens*, and laid cloſe Siege to the City: In this Diſtreſs they ſent out to him *Crateras* the Philoſopher, a Perſon of great Authority and Reputation, to mediate a Compoſure; who managed his Negotiation with ſo much Dexterity, that what with his humble Intreaties and Remonſtrances, and the ſolid Reaſons which he offered, *Demetrius* was perſuaded to raiſe the Siege; and ſhipping his Army, which conſiſted of eleven Thouſand Men, he reſolved upon an Expedition into *Caria* and *Lydia*, to take thoſe Provinces from *Lyſimachus*. Arriving at *Miletus*, he was met there by *Eurydice* the Siſter of *Phila*, his deceaſed Lady, who brought along with her *Ptolemaida*, the Daughter whom ſhe had by King *Ptolemy*; which young Lady had been before affianced to *Demetrius*, and with Whom he now conſummated his Nuptials; but he was too intent upon his other Deſigns, to be diverted from them by his new Amour; and therefore he preſently began the Campaign, and was ſo fortunate in the beginning, that many Cities revolted to him; and Others, as particularly the City of *Sardis*, he took by force; divers Troops of *Lyſimachus* alſo came over to him with a conſiderable Sum of Money. But *Agathocles*, the Son of *Lyſimachus*, with a powerful Army made Head againſt him; which obliged him with his Army to march into *Phrygia*, with an Intention to paſs into *Armenia*; for he had an Imagination, that if he could perſuade the *Medes* or *Armenians* to revolt, he ſhould thereby gain many convenient Sea-ports, and Places of Retreat, to ſecure him againſt any ill-Accident or Diſaſter that might befal him: *Agathocles* preſſed very hard upon him, and many Skirmiſhes and Conflicts paſſed between Parties, wherein *Demetrius* had ſtill the Advantage: But *Agathocles* being much ſuperior in Number, ſtraitned him ſo much in his Forage, that his

Soldiers

Soldiers were forced to conflict more with Famine, than with their Enemies, and ſhewed a great Unwillingneſs to go into *Armenia* and *Media*; ſo that for freſh Quarters he was obliged to paſs over the River *Lycus*, and in the Paſſage, many of his Men, by the Rapidneſs of the Torrent, were carried down the Stream, and drowned: This Miſchance exaſperated the Soldiers to that Degree, that one of them fixed upon the Door of his Pavilion the two firſt Verſes taken out of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, with the change of one Syllable only in the Name,

*Thou Son of blind* Antigonus,
*Where are we?*

And to add to his Misfortune, the Peſtilence, as is uſual, when Armies are driven to ſuch Neceſſities, as to ſubſiſt upon unwholſom Diet, began to aſſail them as well as the Famine; ſo that he loſt eight thouſand of his Men, and with the reſt he retired to *Tarſus*; and becauſe that City was under the Dominion of *Seleucus*, he ſtrictly prohibited his Soldiers the committing any manner of Outrages or Violence, being unwilling to create himſelf a new Enemy in *Seleucus*; but when he perceived it was impoſſible to keep the Soldiers in Order, they being reduced to extreme Neceſſity, and *Agathocles* having blocked up all the Avenues of Mount *Taurus*, to prevent their Foraging in his Territories, he reſolved to write to *Seleucus* to appeaſe him in this Matter: The Letter contained a long and tragical Relation of the miſerable State to which he was reduced, and paſſionate Interceſſions for his Commiſeration to a diſtreſſed King and Relation, who was fallen into ſuch a deplorable Condition, as might extort Tenderneſs and Pity from his very Enemies.

Theſe Letters did ſo mollify the Heart of *Seleucus*, that he gave out poſitive Orders to the Governors of thoſe Provinces, *That they ſhould furniſh* Demetrius *with all Accommodations ſuitable to his Royal Quality, and with ſufficient Proviſions for his Troops.* But *Patrocles*,

*trocles*, a Perſon of great Authority, and the Confident of *Seleucus*, perſuaded him, *that this Entertainment of* Demetrius, *eſpecially of his Soldiers, within his Dominions, was not at all agreeable to the ſound Maxims of Policy; in regard, that of all the Kings of his time,* Demetrius *was the moſt violent in his Inclinations, and addicted to bold and daring Enterpriſes; and that now being driven to Extremities by his adverſe Fortune, a Condition which many times tempted Perſons of the greateſt Temper and Moderation to the moſt deſperate Attempts, he could not, with any Security to Himſelf, afford him this Retreat of Entertainment.* *Seleucus*, exaſperated with this Diſcourſe, advanced with a powerful Army towards *Cilicia*; and *Demetrius*, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden alteration, betook himſelf for Safety to the Strengths and moſt inacceſſible Places of Mount *Taurus*; from whence he ſent Envoys to *Seleucus*, to requeſt from him, *That he would permit him the liberty with his Army to ſeek to repair his broken Fortunes among the barbarous Nations, and there to eſtabliſh a Kingdom, where he might paſs the remainder of his Life in Quiet and Repoſe; and not in that rigorous Seaſon of Winter, to expoſe him in this diſtreſſed, naked Condition, to the Fury of his implacable Enemies; but to allow him a competent time, and Maintenance for the ſupport of his ſmall Army, 'till he might with convenience depart.*

But *Seleucus*, whoſe Jealouſy was now the governing Paſſion of his Soul, ſent him this peremptory Anſwer, *That he would permit him to ſtay two Months and no longer in* Cataonia, *provided he immediately ſent him the principal of his Friends and Officers, as Hoſtages for his Departure by that time*; in the mean-while he ſhut up all the Paſſages into *Syria*: So that *Demetrius*, who ſaw himſelf thus encompaſſed as in a Toil, like an enraged Lion, flew upon the Prey, and fell to waſting the Territories of *Seleucus*, and in many Encounters had the Advantage of him; and particularly, when he was aſſailed by the armed Chariots, he entirely defeated them, and thereby opened his Paſſage into *Syria*. And now finding

finding his Soldiers animated by theſe Succeſſes, he was reſolved to puſh at All, and to have one deciding Blow for the Empire with *Seleucus*; but that crafty Prince having refuſed the Aſſiſtance of *Lyſimachus*, whom he both miſtruſted and hated, made no great haſte to the Encounter, but choſe rather to weary *Demetrius*, and waſte his Power by Delays; for there was nothing that he dreaded more than the perpetual Viciſſitude of that Prince's Fortune, which he had ſo often known to have been raiſed from the moſt deplorable State, to the greateſt exceſs of Glory.

But now all things ſeemed to conſpire to the Ruin of this miſerable Prince; for he was ſeized with a violent Diſtemper, which did not only indanger his Life, but deprived him of his Reaſon; ſo that his Army began to moulder away inſenſibly; Some deſerting, and Others ſtealing away from a Service which they concluded deſperate. After forty days he began to be ſo far recovered, as to be able to rally his Forces, and marched as if he directly deſigned for *Cilicia*; but in the Night, in great Silence he took a Counter-march, and paſſing the Mountain *Amanus*, he foraged all the Country as far as *Cyrrheſtica*. Whereupon *Seleucus* advanced towards him, and encamping at no great diſtance, *Demetrius* took a Reſolution to ſurpriſe him in his Camp; but the Deſign being by ſome Fugitives diſcovered to *Seleucus*, he had but juſt time in great Conſternation to leap out of his Bed, and give the Alarm to his Men; as he was putting on his Boots to mount to Horſe, *Sirs*, ſaid he to the Officers about him, *Look well to your Charges; for we muſt now expect to combate with a furious and enraged wild Beaſt.* But *Demetrius*, by the Noiſe and Murmur he heard in the Camp, finding they had taken the Alarm, drew off his Troops, and began to retreat in the beſt Order he could; but the Morning quickly appearing, *Seleucus* followed hard upon his Rear, and obliged him to a diſadvantageous Encounter. *Demetrius*, having drawn up his Army, and given the Command of one half of his Troops to one of his moſt expert Captains,

tains, with the Other he in Perſon charged ſo furiouſly, that he forced his Enemies to give Ground: But *Seleucus* lighting from his Horſe, and covering his Arm with a Target, advanced to the foremoſt Ranks, and having put up the Viſor of his Helmet, that he might be known, he addreſſed himſelf to the Soldiers of *Demetrius*, exhorting them to lay down their Arms, and not deſperately throw away their Lives; telling them withal, that it was for their ſakes only that he had ſo long forborn coming to Extremities: And thereupon, without a Blow more, theſe perfidious Mercenaries ſubmitted, and ſaluted *Seleucus* as their King.

*Demetrius*, who in the whole courſe of his Life, had been accuſtomed to ſtrange Turns, from thence drew a Hope that he ſhould weather This Storm alſo; and therefore with the ſlender Attendance of his Friends, he fled to the Mountain *Amanus*, where in a thick and ſpacious Wood he ſecured himſelf, reſolving, under the Mantle of the Night, to make his Eſcape towards *Caunus*; where he hoped to find his Shipping ready to tranſport him: But upon Enquiry, finding that they had not Proviſions for more than one day, that Deſign was quaſhed, and he began to think of ſome other Project; whilſt he was rolling over a thouſand irreſolute Thoughts, his Friend *Soſigenes* arrived, who had four hundred Pieces of Gold about him, and with this little Relief he again re-aſſumed his firſt Reſolution and Hopes to recover the Coaſt. So ſoon as it began to be dark he ſet forward towards the Mountains, but perceiving by their Fires that the Enemies had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Paſſages, and that it was impoſſible for him to paſs undiſcovered, he retreated to his old Station in the Wood, but not with all his Troops; for divers had deſerted him, and the little Remainder were extremely dejected and diſheartned, ſo that Some of them began to talk of ſurrendring Themſelves and *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, as the only Means left them for their Safety: Which *Demetrius* over-hearing, he drew out his Sword, and had infallibly paſſed it through his own

own Heart, but that ſome of his Friends interpoſing, prevented the fatal Attempt, and began to perſuade him, that it was much more manly to try the Generoſity of *Seleucus*, and to reſerve his Life for a better Deſtiny, and future Hopes: And with theſe Arguments, but principally by irreſiſtible Neceſſity, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be overcome; and therefore diſpatched ſome of his Attendants to *Seleucus*, to let him know that he was willing to ſurrender Himſelf and his Friends to his Generoſity and Mercy. *Seleucus*, tranſported at this News, cried out: *It is not the good Fortune of* Demetrius, *which hath found out this Expedient for his Safety, but my Own; which I eſteem the greateſt Favour ſhe ever did me, ſince thereby ſhe hath given me opportunity to ſhew my Clemency and Generoſity.* And inſtantly he gave Order to his Domeſtick Officers to prepare a Royal Pavilion, and all things ſuitable, for the ſplendid Reception and Entertainment of *Demetrius*.

There was in the Court of *Seleucus*, one *Apollonides*, who formerly had been intimately known to *Demetrius*. He was therefore, as the fitteſt Perſon, diſpatched from the King, to attend *Demetrius*, and to deſire him to diſſipate all manner of Fear and Diſtruſt, and to give him aſſurance that *Seleucus* was reſolved to treat him with all the Honour due to a King, and the Kindneſs of a Relation. No ſooner was this Meſſage known, but all the principal Courtiers and Officers of *Seleucus*, thinking *Demetrius* would inſtantly become a great Favourite with the King, made haſte to congratulate *Demetrius* and kiſs his Hand: but this ill-timed application, and over-officiouſneſs, proved very miſchievous to that unfortunate Prince; for it gave occaſion to his Enemies to inſinuate to *Seleucus*, that this Uſage of *Demetrius* was a moſt dangerous Civility, and that his Preſence might have very fatal influences upon the Army, the Officers ſhewing more Inclination to Him already than was conſiſtent with their Duty, or the Safety of *Seleucus*; which repreſentations made ſuch impreſſions

upon the Spirit of *Seleucus*, as produced Sentiments and Reſolutions different from the Former.

For whilſt *Apollonides*, and after Him many Others were relating to *Demetrius* the kind Expreſſions of *Seleucus*, and the Orders he had given; and that poor Prince, who before thought this Rendition of himſelf the greateſt Misfortune of his Life, now began in his Thoughts to applaud the Action, and to flatter himſelf with vain hopes, *Pauſanias* with a Guard of a thouſand Horſe and Foot, amidſt all the Careſſes of his Friends, came, and by order from the King ſeized him, and carried him, not as he hoped, like a Prince to the Preſence of *Seleucus*, but a Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Cherſoneſus* in *Syria*, where he was committed to the ſafe Cuſtody of a ſtrong Guard. It is true he wanted nothing but Liberty, for by the command of *Seleucus* he had a moſt liberal allowance for Himſelf and Retinue; he had the Liberty of a curious Garden and delightful Walks, and was for his Exerciſe permitted the Freedom of hunting in a large Park excellently ſtored with Game of all ſorts, and had Horſes likewiſe provided for his Diverſion, and for his Chariots; and to make his Life more eaſy, ſuch of his Servants as were willing to follow his Fortune, had the Freedom of attending upon his Perſon; continual meſſages of kindneſs alſo, from time to time, were brought him from *Seleucus*, requeſting him to ſupport the preſent Reſtraint of his Liberty chearfully, aſſuring him, that ſo ſoon as *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* ſhould arrive at Court, the Conditions and Articles of reſtoring him to his Liberty ſhould be perfected.

But *Demetrius* had learnt to give little credit to theſe deluding pretences, and therefore ſo ſoon as he was fallen into the misfortune of this Captivity, he ſent expreſs Command to his Son *Antigonus*, and to his Captains and Friends, at *Athens* and *Corinth*, that they ſhould give no manner of credit to any Letters written to them in his name, though they were ſealed with his

own

own Signet, but, that looking upon him as if he were already dead, they ſhould reſerve what was left of his Empire for *Antigonus*, and eſteem him as their lawful King.

As for *Antigonus*, he received the ſad News of his Father's Captivity, with all the Teſtimonies of a moſt afflictive Sorrow; he put himſelf into deep Mourning, and writ the moſt paſſionate and tender Letters to *Seleucus*, and the reſt of the Kings, that his Grief could dictate; he offered not only whatever they had left in the World, but Himſelf to be a Hoſtage for the Liberty of the King his Father. Several other Princes, and divers Cities alſo, became Interceſſors for his Freedom: only *Lyſimachus*, by his Ambaſſadors, baſely offered a large Sum of Money to *Seleucus* to take away his Life; but by this barbarous Propoſal he rendered himſelf moſt deteſtable to *Seleucus*, to whom he was ſufficiently odious before; nevertheleſs he ſtill protracted the time of his Deliverance, reſolving, as he pretended, that he ſhould owe it to the Interceſſion of *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*.

*Demetrius*, to whom Misfortunes had been Cuſtomary, grew ſo familiar with This, that by long continuance, it became habitually eaſy. At firſt he accuſtomed himſelf to frequent Exerciſes, Hunting, Horſe-races and ſuch other Divertiſements as were permitted him, but by degrees he came to diſuſe them, and applied himſelf to Dice and Drinking; and to divert the Importunity of his melancholy Thoughts, with which he was haunted when Sober, he took the Remedy of Intemperance, a Cure worſe than the Diſeaſe; and whether This was the Reaſon, or that this ſort of Life was what he moſt naturally affected, and judged that he had committed an Error in ſuffering himſelf to be diverted from it by his mad and vain Ambition, which had created ſo much trouble to Himſelf and Others; and that He, who had ſo reſtleſly toiled in the Purſuit of real Happineſs, by Sea and Land, in mighty Fleets, and formidable Armies, now thought he had found it where

where he leaſt expected it, in Repoſe and Tranquillity. For what other Fruit can thoſe miſerable Princes, who ſink into ſuch a pernicious Diſpoſition of Mind, and ſo groſly abuſe Themſelves, what other Fruit can they reap from all their Toils and Hazards, but the Loſs of Honour, and Virtue, which are ſacrificed to imaginary Pleaſures, and of which they never can arrive at a real Enjoyment?

*Demetrius* having thus continued three Years a Priſoner in *Cherſoneſus*, for want of Exerciſe, and by indulging himſelf in Intemperance, in the fifty fourth Year of his Age fell ſick of a Diſtemper, which ended not but with his Life: And *Seleucus* was extremely cenſured for making ſuch Profeſſions of Kindneſs, and reſtoring his Liberty to this Unfortunate Prince, but not performing them; and herein he did not imitate the bravery of *Dromichetes* of *Thrace*, who not only treated *Lyſimachus*, when he was his Priſoner, nobly and like a King, but quickly reſtored him to his former condition of Liberty.

And now we muſt attend the Unfortunate *Demetrius* with our laſt ſervice to his Funerals, which, ſuitable to his Life, were very pompous and magnificent. For his Son *Antigonus* underſtanding that his Aſhes were coming over from *Syria*, he went with a noble Fleet to the Iſles of the *Archipelagus* to meet them, and cauſed them to be depoſited in an Urn of maſſy Gold. All the Cities, where they touched in their paſſage, ſent Chaplets to adorn the Urn, and deputed certain of the beſt of their Citizens in deep Mourning to aſſiſt at the funeral Solemnity.

When the Fleet of *Antigonus* approached the harbour of *Corinth*, the Urn covered with Purple, and a Royal Crown upon it, was placed upon the Poop of the Admiral Galley, a Troop of young Noblemen and Perſons of Quality attended in Arms upon the Key to receive it at landing; and *Xenophon* the celebrated Muſician began a Mournful Song in praiſe of the Dead, to which the Rowers in ſorrowful Ejaculations made Reſponſes, their

their Oars all the while in their Strokes keeping time with the doleful Cadences of the Muſick.

*Antigonus*, who appeared all in tears and mourning, moved the Univerſal Compaſſion of the numerous Spectators; and the Crowns and other Trophies of Honour being left at *Corinth*, the Urn was conveyed to *Demetria*, a City to which *Demetrius* had given his name, after it had been built by his direction, and peopled with the Inhabitants of the ſmall Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Jolchos*.

*Demetrius* left no other Children by his Queen *Phila* but *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*, but he had two other Sons, Both of his own Name, One whereof was ſurnamed the *Meagre*, by a *Sclavonian* Lady, and the other, who reigned in *Cyrene*, by *Ptolemais*; He had alſo *Alexander* by Queen *Deidamia*, who died in *Egypt*; and there are Some who will have it, that he had alſo a Son by *Eurydice* whoſe name was *Coriabus*. To conclude, the Deſcendants of *Demetrius* in a continued Succeſſion of Kings, enjoyed the Crown of *Macedon*, down to *Perſeus*, who was the laſt, and was vanquiſhed and led in Triumph by the *Romans*. And now having repreſented the Tragedy with which *Macedon* hath furniſhed us, it is time to take a view of That which we expect from *Rome*.

THE

# THE LIFE OF *MARCUS ANTONIUS.*

THE Grand-Father of *Antony* was the famous Pleader, whom *Marius* put to Death for having taken part with *Sylla*: His Father was *Antony* Surnamed the *Cretan*, not the Same with Him that was ſo celebrated and eſteemed for his Skill in publick Affairs, but a worthy good Man, and particularly remarkable for his Liberality, which may appear from This ſingle Action. He was not very Rich, and withal diverted from the Exerciſe of his Good-nature by his Wife. One day a Friend of His that ſtood in need of Money came to borrow of him. But *Antonius* having none to lend, ordered his Servant to put ſome Water in a Silver Baſon, and bring it to him. The Servant obeying his Commands, he took the Baſon, and lathering his Face, as if he was going to ſhave himſelf, he ſent away the Servant upon another Errand, and gave his Friend the Baſon, deſiring him to make what uſe he pleas'd of it.

Next

Next Morning the whole Family was in an Uproar, and great Inquiry made after the Baſon. *Antonius* ſeeing his Wife in a great Paſſion, and reſolved to put all her Servants to the Torture, he acknowledged what he had done, and begged her Pardon. His Wife was *Julia* of the Family of the *Cæſars*, who for her Diſcretion and fair Behaviour was not inferior to the moſt celebrated Ladies of that time. It was under Her that *Antony* received his Education, after the Death of his Father, when ſhe was re-married to *Cornelius Lentulus*, who was put to death by *Cicero* for having been of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. This probably was the firſt ground and occaſion of that mortal grudge that *Antony* bore *Cicero*, who alſo pretended that the Body of *Lentulus* was denied Burial, 'till by great Application made to *Cicero*'s Wife it was granted to his Mother *Julia*. But this was a downright Calumny, for none of Thoſe who ſuffered in the Conſulate of *Cicero* had the Right of Burial denied them. As ſoon as *Antony* was grown up, he proved a very beautiful Youth, but by the worſt of Misfortunes fell into the Acquaintance, and made a ſtrict Friendſhip with *Curio*, a Man abandoned to his pleaſures; who, to make *Antony* abſolutely dependent on him, plunged him into all the inconveniencies of Whoring and Drinking, and made his Expences ſo Extravagant, that he contracted a Debt that was very ſhameful in one of his Age, even two hundred and fifty Talents. *Curio* was his Surety, which coming to the knowledge of *Curio*'s Father, he took an occaſion to diſmiſs *Antony* from his houſe. Soon after This he engaged himſelf with *Clodius*, the moſt inſolent and turbulent Diſturber of the Government that That Age had produced; but not being able long to endure his madneſs, and withal apprehenſive of the Powerful *Cabal* againſt *Clodius*, he left *Italy*, and travelled into *Greece*, where he ſpent his time in warlike Exerciſes, and in the Study of Eloquence. He affected much the *Aſiatick* way of ſpeaking, which was moſt in faſhion then, and had moſt reſemblance to his temper, which was very oſtentatious and bluſtering, very ambitious and unequal.

After

After ſome ſtay in *Greece*, he was invited by *Gabinius* the Pro-conſul to make a Campaign in *Syria*, which at firſt he refuſed, not being willing to ſerve in a private Character, but receiving a Commiſſion to command the Horſe, he went along with him. His firſt Service was againſt *Ariſtobulus*, who had prevailed with the *Jews* to Rebel. He himſelf was the firſt that ſcal'd the Walls, and on the ſtrongeſt ſide of the Town, beat him from all his Forts, and in a pitch'd Battle overcame him, though much inferior in number, put moſt of them to the Sword, and took *Ariſtobulus* and his Son Priſoners. This War ended, *Gabinius* was ſolicited by *Ptolemy* to reſtore him to his Kingdom of *Ægypt*, and a promiſe made of ten thouſand Talents reward; moſt of the Officers were againſt this Enterpriſe, and *Gabinius* Himſelf did not much approve it, though ſhrewdly tempted by the ten thouſand Talents, which had a powerful Influence over him. But *Antony*, deſirous of engaging in brave Actions, and willing to gratify a Petitioning King, was reſolved to uſe all his Intereſt with *Gabinius* to perſuade him to the Expedition, wherein he ſucceeded to his Wiſhes. All were of opinion that the March to *Peluſium* was of more dangerous Conſequence than any thing elſe that could probably happen in the whole Enterpriſe; for they were to paſs over a deep Sand, where no freſh Water was to be hoped for, all along the Marſhes of *Serbonis*, which the *Ægyptians* give out to be the hollow Canal through which *Typhon* takes his Breath, and is in truth an Eruption cauſed by the overflowing of the *Red-Sea*, which in thoſe Parts is ſeparated from the *Mediterranean* but by a ſmall Neck of Land. But *Antony* being ordered thither with a Party of Horſe, did not only make himſelf Maſter of the Paſſes, but even of the ſtrong City of *Peluſium*, took the Citadel, and by this means rendered the March ſecure to the Army, and the way to Victory not uneaſy to the General. The Enemy ſoon received a Benefit from *Antony*'s inſatiate Thirſt after Glory, for when *Ptolemy* had entered *Peluſium* in great Rage and Malice againſt the *Ægyptians*, deſigning to put them every-one to the Sword,

Sword, *Antony* positively withstood him, and hinder'd the Execution. In great and frequent Skirmishes and Battles many were the Proofs he gave of his personal Valour and military Conduct, but never did it more plainly appear than in that Action of his, when wheeling about he attack'd the Rear of the Enemy, and gave opportunity to them that charg'd the Front to obtain an entire Victory, for which he received both Rewards and Honours. His Humanity towards the Corps of *Archelaus*, who fell in the Action, recommended him still more to the *Ægyptians*. He had been engaged to him by the Rights of Hospitality, and as he was compelled by the Duty of his Service to fight against him whilst he was living, so as soon as he heard he was dead, he caused his Body to be searched after, and having found it in the Field he took care to have it interred with royal Pomp, and honoured the Interment with magnificent Obsequies. Upon these and many other Considerations, the *Alexandrians* spoke of him with infinite Respect, and the *Roman* Soldiers looked upon him as one of most worthy Qualifications; to compleat all, he was a Man of excellent Shape and Mien, his Beard was of a comely growth, his Forehead large, his Nose was of the *Roman* Shape, and something he had in his Countenance of Greatness, that made him seem to resemble the Statues and Medals we have of *Hercules*; and it was an ancient Tradition that the *Antonies* were descended of *Hercules*, by a Son of His called *Anteon*; and this Opinion he endeavoured to confirm by affecting the Likeness of him both in his Mien and Dress; for whensoever he appeared in publick he wore his Vest girt low about the Hips, a broad Sword on his Side, and over All a large course Plad or Mantle. What might seem to some very insupportable, as Vain-glory, Rallery, Drinking in Publick, frequenting the common Soldiers Tables and Eating-places, made him the Delight and Pleasure of the whole Army. He was very complaisant in his Amours, gained many Friends by the assistance he gave them in the carrying on of their Intrigues, and could without Offence

hear them rally him upon his Own. The generous Temper which he was of, diſpoſing of Gratuities with liberal Hand to the Soldiers and his Friends, open'd him a fair Way of making his Fortune, and was very advantageous in eſtabliſhing him in his new Honours and Employments, from which it is improbable he ever could have fallen, but by a thouſand Follies which he committed daily. One Inſtance of his Liberality I muſt relate: He had ordered to one of his Friends twenty-five thouſand Drachmas, and his Steward wondring at the Extravagance of the Sum laid all the Silver in a heap, on purpoſe for him to ſee it as he paſſed by, that he might himſelf be a Judge of his own Profuſeneſs. Accordingly when he had caſually caſt his Eyes upon it, he asked his Steward what it was for? and when he was anſwered, *that it was the Sum he had ordered as a preſent for ſuch a Perſon*, *Antony* perceiving the Malice of the Man, replied, *I thought I had ordered much more, it is too little, pray let the Sum be doubled.* But enough of This. The Citizens of *Rome* were divided into two Parties, They that ſeemed to favour the Senate followed *Pompey*, who was then preſent; the others that were for the People ſheltered themſelves under the Authority of *Cæſar*, who was then making War in *Gaul*. *Curio* the Friend of *Antony* having changed his Party, and devoted himſelf to *Cæſar*, brought over *Antony* to his Service; and the Authority which he had gained by his Eloquence and great Expences, which were conſtantly ſupplied by *Cæſar*, gave him Opportunity of making his Friend *Antony* firſt Tribune of the People, and then Augur. *Antony*, as ſoon as he was got into Power, found himſelf capable of rendring no ſmall Services to *Cæſar*. In the firſt Place he oppoſed the Conſul *Marcellus*, who had deſigned ſome old Legions for *Pompey*, and a Power to raiſe new ones; at the ſame time he got it decreed, that the Forces then on Foot ſhould be ſent into *Syria*, and added to the Army there under the Command of *Gabinius*, who was carrying on the War againſt the *Parthians*, and that no one, as they ſhould anſwer it at their Peril, ſhould give in their

their Names to ſerve under *Pompey*. Next finding that *Pompey*'s Faction would not ſuffer *Cæſar*'s Letters to be received or read in the Senate, by virtue of his Office he read them publickly, and ſucceeded ſo well, that many were brought to change their Mind, and to declare that *Cæſar*'s Demands were both juſt and reaſonable; at length two Queſtions being ſtarted, the One, *whether* Pompey *ſhould diſmiſs His Army*, the Other, *if* Cæſar *His*: Some were for the former, for the latter All, except ſome Few; whereupon *Antony* ſtood up and put the Queſtion, *if it would be agreeable to them that both* Pompey *and* Cæſar *ſhould diſmiſs their Armies*; which Propoſal was approved of with great Acclamations, and *Antony* deſired, after much Honour received, to put it to the Vote; but this was oppoſed by the Conſuls, and *Cæſar*'s Friends making ſome new Propoſals, which did not carry the leaſt Appearance of Unreaſonableneſs, were brow-beaten by *Cato*, and *Antony* Himſelf commanded to leave the Senate by *Lentulus* the Conſul. He gave them many a bitter Curſe at his Departure, and diſguiſing himſelf in a Servant's Habit, accompanied only with *Quintus Caſſius* in a hired Chariot, he went ſtraight away to *Cæſar*. They were no ſooner arrived, but great were the Complaints they made, *That the Affairs of* Rome *were tranſacted without any Order or Juſtice, that the Privilege of ſpeaking in the Senate was denied to the Tribunes, and that He who aſſerted the Common Right of the People was in imminent Danger of his Life*. *Cæſar* took hold of this Pretence to march his Army into *Italy*; and upon this Hint it was that *Cicero* writes in his *Philippicks, that* Antony *was as much the Cauſe of the Civil War, as ever* Helen *was of the* Trojan. But this had more of Wit in it than Truth, for *Cæſar* was not of ſo weak a Temper, as to ſuffer himſelf to be carried away by a Paſſion into a Civil War with his Country, upon the ſight of *Antony* and *Caſſius* ſeeking Refuge in his Camp, in mean Habit and a Hackney Chariot, without ever having thought or taken his Meaſures in an Affair of ſo great Conſequence. This indeed was to Him, who had long wanted a Pretence of

declaring War, a fair and plauſible Occaſion; but the true Motive was the ſame that formerly ſet *Alexander* and *Cyrus* at odds with all Mankind, the unquenchable thirſt of Empire, and the diſtracted Ambition of being the greateſt Man in the World, which was impracticable for him to be 'till he had reduced *Pompey*. So ſoon then as he had ſurpriſed *Rome*, and driven *Pompey* out of *Italy*, he purpoſed firſt to go againſt the Legions *Pompey* had in *Spain*, and then to have a Fleet in readineſs to attend his Motions, leaving the mean-while the Government of *Rome* to *Lepidus* the Prætor, and the Command of the Army to *Antony* Tribune of the People, who was not long in getting the Hearts of his Soldiers, eating and drinking himſelf with them, and making them Preſents to the utmoſt of his Abilities. But on the other ſide he wanted not his Enemies, he was too lazy to inform himſelf in the Complaints of the Injured, and was impatient in any thing of Buſineſs, and his Familiarity with other People's Wives gave him an ill Reputation. In ſhort, the Government of *Cæſar* (which in itſelf was little better than Tyrannical) was by the Indiſcretion and Inſolence of his Friends rendered inſupportable: And *Antony*, as he had the greateſt Power in the Army, ſo he committed the moſt notorious Inſolencies, and conſequently lay under the heavieſt Reproaches. But *Cæſar* at his Return from *Spain* winked at his Faults, not thinking fit to diſoblige a Soldier that could ſuffer all Fatigue, was very brave of his Perſon, and an experienced Commander. *Cæſar* going Aboard at *Brunduſium*, ſailed over the *Ionian* Sea with a few Troops, and ſent back the Fleet with Orders to *Antony* and *Gabinius*, to embark the Army and land as ſoon as might be in *Macedonia*. *Gabinius* having no Mind to put to Sea, and being apprehenſive of the Winter-Seaſon, was forced to March his Army round about by Land; but *Antony*, being more afraid leſt *Cæſar* might ſuffer ſome great Inconvenience from the number of his Enemies, who preſſed him hard, beat back *Libo*, who was at Anchor with a Fleet in the Mouth of the Haven

of

of *Brundusium*; for he Manned out several small Pinnaces and other Boats, with which he encompassed each of *Libo*'s Gallies, and so forced them to retire, which gave him an Opportunity of putting aboard twenty thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, and so he put out to Sea. The Enemy having espied him, made up to him; but he escaped this Danger by the favour of the South-Wind, which was so high that the Enemy's Fleet was not able to live in so rough a Water. But the same Wind drove him at first upon a ridge of Rocks, where the Sea wrought so high, that there was no hope of escaping Shipwreck, when all on a sudden it turned about to the South-West, and blew from Land to the main Sea, where *Antony* sailing in security, saw the Coast all covered with the Wreck of the Enemy's Fleet; for the Gallies of *Pompey* had been miserably tossed up and down, and many of them sunk. *Antony* making a right use of this Disaster took many Prisoners, and much Booty. He likewise made himself Master of the Town of *Lyssus*, and by the seasonable arrival of so great a Recruit, gave Heart to the Affairs of *Cæsar*. There was no Engagement in which he did not signalize himself; twice he stopped the Army in its Flight, led them back to the Charge, and gained the Victory, so that his Reputation, next to *Cæsar*'s, was the greatest of any in the Army. And what Opinion *Cæsar* himself had of him, did well appear at the Battle of *Pharsalia*, which was to determine Who should be Emperor of the World. He chose to lead the Right Wing Himself, and committed the charge of the Left to *Antony*, as to the most experienced Officer of all that served under him. After the Battle, *Cæsar* being created Dictator, went in pursuit of *Pompey*, and sent *Antony* to *Rome*, with the Character of Tribune of the People, who by virtue of his Office is in Power next to the Dictator, when present, and in his absence rules in Chief: For upon the Election of a Dictator, all other Magistrates cease to exercise any Authority in *Rome*. The young *Dolabella*, who was also Tribune of the People at that time, and a great Promoter of new

Projects, was for enacting a Law, to reſcind the regiſtered Debts, and would needs perſuade *Antony* to join with him, who was his Friend, and forward enough to promote any thing that was agreeable to the generality of the People, but *Aſinius* and *Trebellius* did all they could to divert him from it. On a ſudden, *Antony* was ſeized with a violent fit of Jealouſy, and ſhrewdly ſuſpected that there was a ſecret criminal Commerce carried on betwixt *Dolabella* and his Wife, who was his firſt Couſin, being the Daughter of *Caius Antonius*, who had been *Cicero*'s Collegue when he was Conſul. Wherefore uniting himſelf to *Aſinius* he declared open War againſt *Dolabella*, who had got Poſſeſſion of the *Forum*, in order to get his Law paſſed. The Senate ordered *Antony* to oppoſe him by Force, whereupon he attacked him, killed many of his Men, and loſt ſome of his Own.

This Action rendered him very ungracious with the People, at the ſame time that his way of Life made him loathed and deteſted by all Men of Probity and Virtue, who, as *Cicero* ſaith, abominated his Midnight Revelling, his wild Expences, his Debauches with abandoned Women in the moſt ſcandalous places, his Naps in the Day, and his Walks to digeſt his Debauches, and then at Night again his Entertainments and Balls, for the ſolemnizing the Nuptials of ſome Comedian, or Buffoon. It is reported, that drinking all Night at the Wedding of *Hippias* the Comedian, and on the Morning being to harangue the People, he ventured out, overcharged as he was, and vomited before them all, one of his Friends receiving it in his Gown. *Sergius*, the Comedian, was He who had the greateſt Power with him; and *Cytheris*, a Lady of the ſame Profeſſion, the Woman that had his Heart. She, when he went his Progreſs, accompanied him in a Litter, and had her Equipage, not in any thing inferior to his Mother's; the World was ſcandalized at the great Pomp of his Travelling Plate, which was more proper for the Ornaments of a Triumph, than the Convenience of a Journey; at his cauſing Tents to be ſet up every where in the

the Way by Rivers sides, and in Groves, for his dining with all the Luxury imaginable; and that he made his Chariot to be drawn by Lions, and lodg'd his little Whores, and singing Wenches, whereſoever he paſt, in the Houſes of grave reſerved Men, and Women famous for their Matron-like Behaviour. And it ſeemed very unreaſonable that *Cæſar* out of *Italy* ſhould fare hard, and with great Fatigue and Danger purſue the Remainder of a dangerous War, whilſt Others, under his Authority, left no Inſolence unpractiſed upon their Fellow-Citizens; and This undoubtedly was the Occaſion of great Trouble in *Rome*, and gave the Soldiers Encouragement to injure and plunder the People; upon This it is probable that *Cæſar* at his Return acquitted *Dolabella*, and being created the third time Conſul, took not *Antony*, but *Lepidus* for Collegue. *Pompey*'s Houſe being to be ſold, *Antony* bought it, but when they came to aſk him for the Purchaſe Money he fell into a Paſſion, and declared, that for That reaſon he would not follow *Cæſar* into *Libya*, becauſe his former Services had not been recompenſed as they deſerved. However it is plain that *Cæſar*'s diſlike of that Courſe of Life, and declaring how much he was offended at it, was a great means of his Amendment, for he took up ſoon after, and married *Fulvia* the Widow of *Clodius* that Firebrand of Sedition, a Woman not born for Spinning or Houſwifry, nor one that could be content with the Power of ruling a private Huſband, but a Lady capable of adviſing a Magiſtrate, and of ruling the General of an Army, ſo that *Cleopatra* had great Obligations to her for having taught *Antony* to be ſo good a Servant, he coming into her Hands tame and broken in all Obedience to the Commands of a Miſtreſs. *Antony* had many Devices by which he uſed to entertain and divert her from her more ſerious way of Carriage. As when *Cæſar* after his Victory in *Spain* was on his return, *Antony*, among the reſt, went out to meet him, and a Rumour being ſpread that *Cæſar* was killed, and the Enemy marching into *Italy*, he returned to *Rome*, and diſguiſing himſelf, came to her by Night, as a Ser-

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vant that brought Letters from *Antony*; but ſhe with great Impatience, before ſhe received the Letter, aſked if *Antony* were well? Inſtead of an Anſwer he gave her the Letter, and as ſhe was opening it took her about the Neck and kiſſed her. This little Story, out of many of the ſame Nature, we thought fit to give, by which the Reader may make a gueſs of his Humour. There was no Body of Quality in *Rome* that did not go ſome Days Journey to meet *Cæſar* in his return from *Spain*; but *Antony* was the beſt received of any, admitted to ride the whole Journey with him in his Chariot; behind came *Brutus*, *Albinus*, and *Octavius* his Siſter's Son, well known afterward by the Name of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. *Cæſar* being created the fifth time Conſul, without any Demur choſe *Antony* for his Collegue, but deſigning himſelf to quit the Conſulate to *Dolabella*, he acquainted the Senate with his Reſolution; but *Antony* oppoſed it with all his Might, and ſaying all the bitter things of *Dolabella*, and receiving as injurious Language in return, *Cæſar* could bear with the Indecency no longer, but referred the Conſideration of this Matter to another time; and the next time it was propoſed, *Antony* proclaimed, that the Omens taken from the Flight of Birds were againſt his Promotion; ſo that *Cæſar* was conſtrained to leave *Dolabella* very much diſcompoſed; and it is credible, that *Cæſar* had no great Opinion of either of them; for when one of his Friends accuſed Them as ſuſpected Perſons, and Men capable of ſome deſperate Undertaking, he anſwered, *It is not thoſe jolly well-dreſſed Gentlemen, but the Pale and Meagre of whom I am apprehenſive*; meaning *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; who afterwards conſpired his Death, and murdered him. —— And *Antony* Himſelf, without deſigning it, gave them the moſt plauſible Pretence they could deſire for ſuch an Undertaking. The *Romans* were then celebrating their Feſtival called the *Lupercalia*, when *Cæſar* in his Triumphal Habit, and ſeated on a kind of Throne in the Market-place, was a Spectator of the Sports. The Cuſtom is, that many Young Noblemen, and ſome

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of the Magiſtrates Themſelves, anointed with Oil, and having Straps of white Leather in their Hands, run about and ſtrike every one they meet. *Antony* was One of Theſe, but omitting the Performance of what was required by the Original Inſtitution, took a Laurel Garland, and having wreathed the Diadem about it, made towards the Throne, and being liſted up by his Companions, would have put it upon the Head of *Cæſar*, as if by that Ceremony he were declared King; but *Cæſar* ſeemingly refuſed the Offer, and was applauded by the People with great Shouts for ſo doing. This did not deter *Antony* from perſiſting in his Deſign; ſo that it remained a Conteſt for ſome time between Him and *Cæſar*, the One offering, and the Other refuſing, with this Difference, that very Few ſeemed to reliſh the One, and almoſt One and All applauded the Other. This indeed is very remarkable, that the People ſhould endure patiently all that a Kingly Government could impoſe, and at the ſame time dread the Name of King, as the utter Deſtruction of their Liberty. *Cæſar*, very much diſcompoſed at what had paſt, ſtept down from the Tribunal, and laying bare his Neck, ſaid, *ſtrike who will.* The Crown at laſt was put upon one of his Statues, but the Tribunes took it off, to the great Satisfaction of the People, who followed them home with continual Shouts, and Applauſes: *Cæſar* reſented This, and afterwards turned them out of their Office. Theſe Paſſages gave great Encouragement to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who in making choice of truſty Friends for their Conſpiracy, were thinking to engage *Antony*; every one approved the Man, except *Trebonius*, who informed them that *Antony* and He had been very intimate in the late Journey they took to meet *Cæſar*, and that he had let fall ſeveral Words concerning the Matter now in Hand, on purpoſe to ſound him; that *Antony* very well underſtood him, but did not at all approve of the Diſcourſe; howſoever the Matter was never revealed to *Cæſar*, but ſtill kept as a great Secret. The Conſpirators then propoſed that *Antony* ſhould die with him, which *Brutus* would

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in no wiſe conſent to, not thinking fit that an Action undertaken in Defence of Juſtice and the Laws, ſhould be liable to ſo foul an Imputation. *Antony* therefore, who was to be conſidered as a Man of Bodily Strength, and one that bore great Office in the State, was, at *Cæſar*'s Entry to the Senate, to be amuſed without in a Diſcourſe of pretended Buſineſs. Juſt as it was ordered *Cæſar* was Slain, and *Antony* ſurpriſed at the Action took the Diſguiſe of a Servant's Habit, and retired; but underſtanding that the Conſpirators had aſſembled in the Capitol, and had no further Deſign upon any one, he gave them his Honour they might come down in ſafety, and ſent his Son for an Hoſtage. That Night *Caſſius* ſupped at *Antony*'s Houſe, and *Brutus* with *Lepidus*. The next day he called the Senate, where he propoſed an Act of Oblivion for all that had paſſed, and that Provinces ſhould be aſſigned to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. The Senate confirmed theſe two Propoſitions, and ratified every thing that had been enacted by *Cæſar*. Thus *Antony* went out of the Senate with that Reputation and Eſteem that never Man had gained before him; for it was apparent to the World that he had taken away all the Grounds of a Civil War, and had ſhewn himſelf an able Miniſter of State, that knew how to unravel and compoſe Matters of ſo great Danger and Difficulty. But theſe temperate Counſels were ſoon infected with Pride, upon the Thoughts of being the chief Favourite of the People, which made him imagine he ſhould ſoon be the firſt Man in the State if he could but once ſupplant *Brutus*. Wherefore when *Cæſar*'s Body was expoſed in the *Forum*, He took upon him to pronounce the Funeral Oration, as it was cuſtomary in the like Caſes, and perceiving the People to be infinitely affected with what he had ſaid in Commendation of *Cæſar*, he raiſed their Pity, and enlarged upon every Point that could move Compaſſion. To complete all, he took the Robe from off the dead Corps, and held it up, expoſing it all bloody, and pierced through with many Stabs, calling the Conſpirators Villains, and bloody Murderers.

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His Harangue had ſo good an Effect upon the Multitude, that they would not defer the Solemnities of the Funeral, but making a Pile of Tables and Forms in the very *Forum*, ſet Fire to it; and every one taking a Brand, ran in great Fury to the Conſpirators Houſes, with a Reſolution to burn them alive. Upon This Tumult *Brutus* and his whole Party left the City, and *Cæſar*'s Friends joined themſelves to *Antony*. *Calphurnia*, *Cæſar*'s Wife, truſted herſelf to his Conduct, together with all her Treaſure, which amounted to no leſs than four thouſand Talents. He got alſo into his Hands all *Cæſar*'s Papers, wherein were contained Journals of all he had done, and Draughts of what he deſigned to do; which *Antony* made good Uſe of; for by this Means he made what Officers he pleaſed, brought whom he thought fit into the Senate, recalled Some from Exile, freed Others out of Priſon, and all This as ordered ſo by *Cæſar*. The *Romans*, by way of Rallery, called All that received any Benefit by this Artifice *Charonites*, who, if put to prove their Patents, muſt have Recourſe to the Regiſters of the Dead. In ſhort, *Antony*'s Behaviour in *Rome* was very abſolute, He Himſelf was Conſul, and his two Brothers in two Poſts of great Authority. *Caius*, the One, being Prætor, and *Lucius*, the Youngeſt, Tribune of the People.

While Matters went thus in *Rome*, the young *Cæſar*, *Julius Cæſar*'s Siſter's Son, and by Teſtament left his Heir, arrived at *Rome* from *Apollonia*, where he reſided when his Uncle was killed. The firſt Thing he did was to viſit *Antony*, as one his Uncle had the greateſt Obligation to. He ſpoke to him concerning the Money that was in his Hands, and reminded him of the Legacy *Cæſar* had made of ſeventy five *Drachmas* to every *Roman* Citizen: *Antony* at firſt took little Notice of him, but conſidering him as a raw unexperienced Youth, told him, he was equally void of Friends, and common Senſe, and not able to ſupport the Burden of *Cæſar*'s Executorſhip, and Inheritance.

*Cæſar*

*Cæſar* not ſatisfied with theſe arguments, inſiſted on the Money, whereupon *Antony* uſed him injuriouſly, thwarted his Intereſt upon all Occaſions, oppoſed him in his Election of Tribune, and when he attempted to carry into the Theatre the Golden Chair, granted by the Senate to his Father, he threatned to ſend him to Priſon if he deſiſted not from ſoliciting the People. But when he found *Octavius* applying himſelf to *Cicero*, and all Thoſe who hated *Antony*, and that by Them he was recommended to the Senate, while he himſelf courted the People, and had drawn all the Veterans out of their reſpective Quarters, and formed them into a Body; then he began to be ſo apprehenſive, that he gave him a Meeting in the Capitol, where they conferred ſome time together, and at length came to an Accommodation.

That Night *Antony* had a very unlucky Dream, for he fancied that his right hand was Thunder-ſtruck, and ſome few Days after he was informed that *Cæſar* deſigned upon his Life. *Cæſar* would have juſtified himſelf, but was not believed, ſo that the Breach was now made as wide as ever, whilſt each of them poſted Day and Night all about *Italy* to engage the old Troops that lay ſcatter'd in their Quarters, and great were the Promiſes that were made to the Legions that were yet ſtanding. *Cicero* was of a great Reputation in *Rome*, and made uſe of all his Art to exaſperate the People againſt *Antony*, and at length perſuaded the Senate to declare him a publick Enemy, and to ſend to *Cæſar* the Rods and Axes, and all other Marks of Honour, that are uſually given to the Prætor; and withal an Order was given to *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, who were their Conſuls, to drive *Antony* out of *Italy*. The Armies engaged nigh to *Modena*, and *Cæſar* Himſelf was preſent. *Antony* was defeated, though both the Conſuls were ſlain. *Antony* in his Flight was purſued by all the Misfortune imaginable, and the worſt Shape it appeared in was Famine, but it was in theſe Extremities that he naturally fell into a Behaviour, which made him appear a Man much above himſelf; and *Antony* in Misfortune was not eaſily diſtinguiſh'd

tinguiſhed from a virtuous Man. It is no extraordinary Matter for Men that fall into Difficulties to reaſon right, and underſtand what by their Duty and Honour they are bound to do and ſuffer: Yet there are but very few, who in great Extremities have Reſolution enough either to do what they approve, or avoid what they condemn, but generally relapſing into Indolence, they loſe the benefit of their right reflections. *Antony* was a moſt illuſtrious Example of Patience to the Army, who, accuſtomed to ſo much Luxury and Delicacy, could be contented to drink ſtinking Water, and feed upon wild Fruits and Roots, nay it is reported they devoured the very Barks of Trees, and in paſſing over the *Alps* they lived upon the Fleſh of Beaſts that Man had never before taſted. His Deſign was to join *Lepidus*, who commanded the Army on the other ſide of the *Alps*, and who he imagined would ſtand his ſure Friend, he having done him many kind Offices to *Julius Cæſar*. He encamped near *Lepidus* his Army, but receiving from him no ſort of Encouragement, was reſolved to puſh his Fortune and venture all. His Hair was very long and diſordered, nor had he ſhaved his Beard ſince his late Defeat; in this Guiſe, and a mourning Mantle flung over, he came into the Trenches of *Lepidus*, and began to Harangue the Army. Some were moved at his Habit, Others at his Words, that *Lepidus* liking it not, ordered the Trumpets to ſound, that he might be heard no longer. This raiſed in the Soldiers a greater ſenſe of Pity, ſo that they ſecretly ſent *Lælius* and *Clodius* dreſſed in Womens Clothes, and adviſed *Antony to attack* Lepidus's *Trenches, aſſuring him that the Major Part were diſpoſed to receive him with open Arms, and diſpatch* Lepidus *into the Bargain, if he would ſend them his Orders for ſo doing.*

*Antony* would by no means ſuffer any Violence to be offered to *Lepidus*, but early the next Morning marched at the Head of his Troops, ſounded a River which lay between the two Camps, and was the firſt that flung himſelf into the Water in order to gain the other ſide, where he obſerved *Lepidus*'s Soldiers in great Numbers

reaching out their Hands to help him, and beating down the Works to make way for him: Being entered the Camp, and finding himſelf abſolute Maſter, he treated *Lepidus* with great Civility, and gave him the title of Father when he ſpoke to him, and though he had every thing at his own Command, he left Him the Honour of being called the General. This fair Uſage brought over to him *Munatius Plancus*, who was not far off with a conſiderable Force. Thus being very ſtrong he repaſſed the *Alps*, and led with him into *Italy* ſeventeen Legions, and ten thouſand Horſe, beſides ſix Legions he left in Garriſon under the Command of *Varius* one of his familiar Friends, who uſed to debauch with him, and was therefore ſurnamed *Cotylon*, (which ſignifies a Bottle.) *Cæſar* perceiving that *Cicero*'s Intention was to re-eſtabliſh the State in its former Liberty, did ſoon quit that Party, and by the Mediation of his Friends came once more to a good Underſtanding with *Antony*. They Both met together with *Lepidus* in a ſmall Iſland, where the Conference laſted three Days. The Empire of the World was divided amongſt them, as if it had been their paternal Inheritance. The great difficulty was to agree who ſhould be put to Death, every one intending to deſtroy his Enemies and ſave his Friends. The Thirſt of being revenged of their Enemies did in the end take off all manner of deſire to preſerve their Friends or Relations, which made *Cæſar* ſacrifice *Cicero* to *Antony*, *Antony* his Uncle *Lucius* to *Cæſar*, and Both of them eaſily granted to *Lepidus* the Liberty to murder his own Brother *Paulus*, though there are Some who ſay it was required of him. I do not believe any thing was ever heard of ſo barbarous as this Compoſition, for in this exchange of Blood for Blood, they did not only each of them murder Thoſe that were abandoned to his own Fury, but alſo thoſe he ſacrificed to the Rage of the others. This Agreement being made, the Army deſired that their Confederacy and Friendſhip might be cemented by ſome Alliance, accordingly *Cæſar* married

married *Claudia* the Daughter of *Fulvia* Wife to *Antony*. When that Affair was over, they ſettled the Liſt of ſuch as had been marked down for Death, amounting in the whole to three hundred Perſons. *Antony* inſiſted that They who were ordered to kill *Cicero*, ſhould cut off his Head and right Hand with which he had writ his Invectives againſt him, and when they were brought before him, he beheld them with an inward Satisfaction, not being able to contain himſelf from often ſmiling at ſo horrid a Spectacle. After he had ſatiated himſelf with the Sight of them, he ordered them to be hung up in the Court where the uſual Pleadings were held, not conſidering that the Affront he deſigned to the Memory of the Dead redounded to his own Diſgrace, who by this barbarous Action diſhonoured that Authority which he abuſed ſo notoriouſly. His Uncle *Lucius* being cloſely purſued took refuge in his Siſter's Houſe, where when the Murderers had broke in, and were preſſing into her Chamber, ſhe met them at the Door, and holding them by the Hands cried out ſeveral times, *Ye ſhall never kill* Lucius Cæſar, *'till you firſt diſpatch Me, Me, who gave your General his Life and Being*; and by this Firmneſs and Conſtancy ſhe ordered the matter ſo well that ſhe ſaved her Brother.

This *Triumvirate* was very hateful to the *Romans*, and *Antony* was moſt of all to blame, for he was elder than *Cæſar*, and had greater Authority than *Lepidus*, and withal was no ſooner ſettled in his Affairs, but he returned to his debauch'd and diſſolute way of living. Beſide the ill Reputation he had gained by his Intemperance, it was very diſadvantageous to him his living in the Houſe of *Pompey* the Great, a Man no leſs celebrated for his Temperance and Regularity, than for his three Triumphs. They could not without regret ſee the Doors of that Houſe ſhut againſt the Magiſtrates and Foreign Miniſters, who were ſhamefully refuſed admittance, while it was open to Players, Juglers, and devouring Flatterers, upon whom he ſpent the greateſt part of thoſe immenſe Sums which he had accumulated

by ſo many Acts of Violence and Extortion. For they did not only take the Forfeiture of the Eſtates of Such as had been proſcribed, defrauding the poor Widows and Orphans of their Right of Inheritance and Succeſſion, and burdened the People with unreaſonable Impoſitions; but hearing that large Sums of Money, belonging as well to Strangers as Citizens of *Rome*, had been depoſited in the hands of the Veſtal Virgins, they went and took it away by force. When *Cæſar* perceived that *Antony*'s Covetouſneſs and Prodigality were equally inſatiable, he demanded a Diviſion to be made of the Revenues. The Army was alſo divided upon their March into *Macedonia*, where they were going againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, having firſt committed the Government of *Rome* to *Lepidus*.

When they had taken the Field, and lay encamped within Sight of the Enemy, *Antony* oppoſite to *Caſſius*, and *Cæſar* to *Brutus*, *Cæſar* did nothing worth relating, but Succeſs and Victory ſtill waited on *Antony*. In the firſt Battle *Cæſar* was routed by *Brutus*, and all his Baggage taken, and He Himſelf very narrowly eſcaped by Flight. He tells us indeed in his own Commentaries, that by reaſon of a Dream, which One of his Friends had the preceding Night, he withdrew juſt before the Charge was given. *Antony* overcame *Caſſius*, tho' Some ſay he was not preſent at the Engagement, but that he joined them afterwards in the Purſuit. *Caſſius* with earneſt Intreaty had perſuaded his faithful Friend *Pindarus*, not knowing any thing of *Brutus*'s good Fortune, to kill him. Shortly after they fought another Battle, in which *Brutus* loſt the Day, and ſlew Himſelf. *Anthony* had almoſt all the Honour of this Victory, for *Cæſar* was ſick when the Fight began. When he found the Body of *Brutus* among the Slain, he reproached him with the Death of his Brother *Caius*, who was ſlain by the Order of *Brutus*, in *Macedonia*, in revenge for the Murder of *Cicero*. However he charged the Guilt of it upon *Hortenſius*, rather than *Brutus*, and therefore ordered Him to be ſlain upon his Brother's Tomb. He caſt his

rich

rich purple Mantle upon the dead Body of *Brutus*, and gave in charge to one of his Servants to take care of his Funeral. Some time after being informed that this Servant had not burnt the Mantle with the Corps, and had detained part of the Money which was to be expended in the Funeral, he ordered him to be ſlain.

Soon after this Victory *Cæſar* was conveyed to *Rome*, where it was commonly reported that his Diſtemper was incurable. *Anthony* in the mean time made his Progreſs through the upper Provinces of *Aſia*, where he raiſed Contributions, and paſſed at the Head of a formidable Army into *Greece*. And the Impoſitions of neceſſity were to be very great, ſince they had engaged that every common Soldier ſhould receive a Donative of five hundred Drachmas.

*Antony*'s Behaviour towards the *Grecians* was at firſt very obliging, for he was pleaſed to entertain himſelf in hearing the learned Men diſpute, in ſeeing their Sports, frequenting their Religious Ceremonies, and ſhewed a great deal of Equity in deciding of Controverſies: He was fond of being ſtiled *the Lover of* Greece, but above all in being called *the Lover of* Athens, to which City he made very conſiderable Preſents.

The *Megareans*, in imitation of the *Athenians*, muſt needs invite *Antony* to come and ſee their Senate-houſe, which whilſt he ſurvey'd, they aſked him how he liked it? he told them *it was narrow and ruinous*; he cauſed an exact Survey to be made of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, as if he had deſign'd to repair it, and indeed he had engaged himſelf to the Senate ſo to do; but paſſing into *Aſia*, he forgot all theſe glorious Projects, and leaving *Lucius Cenſorinus* in *Greece*, his whole Application was to inrich himſelf with the Spoils of *Aſia*. There Kings every Morning waited his Leiſure at his Chamber door, and Queens were rivalling one another, who ſhould make him the greateſt Preſents, or appear moſt charming in his Eyes. Thus whilſt *Cæſar* was engaged in War, and ſtruggling with Seditions in *Rome*, *Antony* at his Eaſe fell naturally into his old courſe of life: The

*Anaxenores* a ſet of Harpers, the *Xuthi* a company of Players upon the Flute, and *Metrodorus* a Dancing-Maſter, with ſome other Bands of *Aſian* Muſick, did ſo much ſurpaſs his *Italian* Maſters, that they had got great Credit at Court: Nothing ran in the uſual Channels, all Buſineſs paſſing through their Hands, ſo that all *Aſia* was like the City that *Sophocles* ſpeaks of, where

*Joyful Sounds i'th' perfum'd Air*
*Mix with Groans and cold Deſpair.*

When he made his Entry into *Epheſus*, the Women met him in the ſame Habit they wear when they ſolemniſe the Feaſts of *Bacchus*, the Men and Boys were dreſt like Satyrs and Fauns, and quite throughout the Town nothing was to be ſeen but Spears wreathed about with Ivy, nor heard but Harps, Flutes and Hautboys, whilſt they ſaluted *Antony* in their Songs by the Names of *Bacchus the gracious and the gentle*; and ſo indeed he was to Some, but for the moſt part he was barbarous and inhuman, for he would deprive Perſons of Worth and Quality of their Fortunes to gratify Villains and Flatterers, who would ſometimes beg the Eſtates of Men yet living, pretending they were dead, and obtaining a Grant, take Poſſeſſion. He gave his Cook the Houſe of a *Magnetian* Citizen, for dreſſing his Supper well. But when he burdened *Aſia* with doubling the Impoſt, *Hybreas* the Agent for thoſe Cities made his Remonſtrance in very pleaſant Language, and not ungrateful to *Antony*, ſhewing him *that ſince he thought fit to double their Taxes he would take ſome care that they might have their Summer and Autumn doubled too, that they might be in a Condition to ſatisfy his Demands.* Then he added with ſome Sharpneſs and Aſſurance, Aſia *has already furniſhed two hundred thouſand Talents for your Service, which if you have not received, call to Them that levied it, but if it be received and you are ſtill in want, we are for ever ruined.* Theſe laſt Words touched *Antony* to the quick, for he was very ignorant of many things that had been done in his

his Name; which proceeded not from want of concern about thoſe things, but by reaſon he had too great Confidence in the Integrity of Thoſe he employed. He naturally had a great eaſineſs of temper, and was ſomewhat ſlow of Apprehenſion; but ſo ſoon as he was made ſenſible of his Faults he was much troubled, and very ready to confeſs them to thoſe he had offended. He was very prodigal in his Rewards, and no leſs ſevere in his Puniſhments, but his Generoſity was much more extravagant than his Severity. His Rallery was very ſharp, but the edge of it was taken off, and rendered inoffenſive, by his ſuffering any thing of Repartee; for he was as well contented to be handſomly rallied, as he was pleaſed to rally Others. This Freedom had its Inconvenience, for he imagined that thoſe Friends, who uſed ſo much Freedom in their Mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any Buſineſs of Conſequence; not perceiving that theſe ſubtle Paraſites dreſt their fulſom Flattery with a little pointed Sauce to make it go down the better, which muſt have given him a Surfeit had it not been diſguiſed; and great Uſe was made of this Liberty in Buſineſs of Importance, for upon examining any Difficulty, they ordered their Affair ſo that they might ſeem not to yield to him out of Complaiſance, but becauſe he had a Reach ſuperior to Theirs.

*Antony* being of this Diſpoſition, the greateſt Miſchief that could befall him was the Love of *Cleopatra*, which awakened and inflamed many a hidden dormant Vice, and if there were any ſpark of Virtue yet remaining, it ſtifled it entirely. And thus it was his Love began. Upon his firſt ſetting out in his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, he ſent, and commanded *Cleopatra* to make her perſonal Appearance in *Cilicia*, there to anſwer to ſome Accuſations that had been preferred againſt her, for ſhe was accuſed of having given great Aſſiſtance in the late Wars to *Caſſius*. *Dellius*, who was ſent on this Meſſage, had no ſooner ſeen her admirable Beauty, and with what a Quickneſs and Grace ſhe received him, but he began to conſider how impoſſible it was

that

that ſo beautiful a Creature ſhould receive any ill Treatment at the Hands of *Antony*, and therefore he behaved himſelf with all Reſpect to her, courted her with all Humility to paſs deck'd with all the ornaments that might beſt ſet off her beauty into *Cilicia*, and intreated her not to be apprehenſive of *Antony*, a brave and courteous Soldier. She had great Faith in the Words of *Dellius*, but more in her own Beauty, which having formerly recommended her to *Julius Cæſar* and the young *Pompey*, ſhe did not doubt but it might prove ſucceſsful with *Antony*. Their Acquaintance was with her when a Girl, young and ignorant in the Art of Love, but ſhe was now to meet *Antony* in the Flower of her Age, with all the Charms of Beauty, and all the Artifice of riper Years: She made great Preparations for her Journey, of Money, Gifts, and other Ornaments of great value, which ſo wealthy a Kingdom did eaſily afford, but in her own irreſiſtible Charms lay her great Aſſurance: Many were the Letters ſhe received from *Antony* to haſten her coming, but ſhe did not ſeem to make any great account of his Orders. At length ſhe embarked on a ſmall Galley in the River *Cydnus*, the Head of which ſhined with inlaid Gold, the Sails were of Purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which beat time to the Flutes and Hautboys. She herſelf lay all along under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold curiouſly embroidered, dreſſed as *Venus* is ordinarily repreſented, and beautiful young Boys like *Cupids* ſtood on each ſide to fan her; her Maids were dreſſed like Sea-Nymphs and Graces, Some ſteering the Rudder, Some working at the Ropes; the Purfumes diffuſed themſelves from the Veſſel to the Shore, which was all covered with Multitudes meeting and following the Galley, all the People running out of the City to ſee this uncommon Spectacle. As ſoon as it was known that ſhe was arrived, *Antony* was left alone upon the Tribunal, and a Rumour was ſpread that *Venus* was come to feaſt with *Bacchus* for the common Good of *Aſia*. The Moment ſhe landed, *Antony* ſent to invite her to Supper, but ſhe thought it more decent

that

that *Antony* ſhould come to Her, who to ſhew his Civility to a Stranger made no difficulty to wait on her. He found the Preparations very magnificent, but nothing was ſo admirable as the Multitude of Lights, for on a ſudden there was let down all together ſo great a number of Branches with Lights in them ſo ingeniouſly diſpoſed, Some in Squares, and Some in Circles, that Fame cannot ſpeak of a greater piece of Curioſity. The next Day *Antony* invited Her to Supper, and was very deſirous to out-do her as well in Magnificence as Contrivance, but he came ſhort of Both, and was ſo much convinced of it that he began to deſpiſe and laugh at his own way of Living. She perceiving that *Antony*'s Rallery was very groſs, and favoured more of the Soldier than the Courtier, gave herſelf the liberty to uſe him in the ſame manner without any ſort of Reſerve. *Cleopatra* was not, as is reported, of ſo ſurpriſing a Beauty, that no one could be compared with her, or that no one could behold her without Aſtoniſhment, but her Converſation had thoſe Charms that were not to be reſiſted, and that natural Grace and Sweetneſs which appeared in every thing ſhe ſaid or did, ſtung her Beholders to the Soul. Her Tongue was hung ſo harmoniouſly, that no Inſtrument was capable of more variety of Sounds. She ſpoke moſt Languages, there were but few of the barbarous Nations that ſhe anſwered by an Interpreter, to moſt of them ſhe gave Audience herſelf, as to the *Æthiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Hebrews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes*, *Parthians*, and many Others, which is the more admirable conſidering that moſt of the Kings her Predeceſſors could ſcarce attain to the *Ægyptian* Tongue, and that ſeveral of them had quite forgot the *Macedonian*, which was their original Language.

*Antony* was ſo ſtrangely taken with this Woman, that notwithſtanding *Fulvia* his Wife maintained his Quarrels in *Rome* againſt *Cæſar* with great Difficulty, and that the *Parthian* Troops commanded by *Labienus*, who had embraced their Party, and was made their General, were aſſembled in *Meſopotamia*, and ready to enter

*Syria*,

Syria, could yet ſuffer himſelf to be carried away by her into *Alexandria* there to lead an eaſy childiſh Life in Divertiſements too youthful for his Age, ſquandring away, as *Antipho* calls it, his moſt precious and not to be retrieved Time. They gave their way of living a particular Name, calling it, *the inimitable Life.* They treated one another by turns, and their Expences were without Reaſon and Meaſure. I remember I have heard my Grandfather *Lamprias* relate, that *Philotas* a Phyſician of *Amphyſſa*, who was at that time a Student in *Alexandria*, had told him, that having an Acquaintance with one of *Anthony*'s Cooks he was invited by him to ſee what ſumptuous Preparations they were making for Supper. Coming into the Kitchen, he admired the prodigious Variety of all things, but particularly ſeeing eight wild Boars roſted whole, ſays he, *Surely you have a great Number of Gueſts*; the Cook laughed at his ſimplicity, and told him *there was not above twelve to ſup, but that every Diſh was to be juſt roſted to a turn, and if any thing was but one Minute ill-timed it was ſpoiled; for*, ſaid he, *may be* Antony *will ſup juſt now, may be not this Hour, may be not theſe two Hours, for that he has a mind to ſpend ſome time in drinking or diſcourſing, ſo that not One but many Suppers muſt be had in readineſs, for it is not eaſy to gueſs at his Hour.* This was *Philotas* his Story; who related beſides, how coming afterwards into the Service of *Antony*'s eldeſt Son by *Fulvia*, and being admitted with Others of the better Rank of Servants to ſit at Table with him, when he did not eat with his Father, it happened that another Phyſician, full of Argument and Noiſe, had given great Diſturbance to the Company, whoſe Mouth *Philotas* ſtopped with this Sophiſtical Syllogiſm: *It is proper to give cold Water to one who hath a Fever in ſome degree; every one who hath a Fever hath it in ſome degree; it is proper therefore to give cold Water in a Fever.* This Sophiſm quite nonpluſt the poor Phyſician, at which young *Antony* was ſo highly pleaſed, that he ſaid to *Philotas*, *All That is yours, Philotas*, pointing to a Side-board covered with rich

rich Plate. *Philotas* thanked him for his Good-will, but could not conceive that the young Man had Power to diſpoſe of things of that value, but ſoon after the Plate was all brought to him, and He deſired to ſet his Mark upon it; but fearing to accept the Preſent, *What ails the Man,* (ſaid He who brought it) *do you know that He who gives you this is* Antony's *Son, who could very well ſpare it if it were all Gold; but if you will be adviſed by Me, I would counſel you to accept of the value in Money, for there may be among it ſome Pieces of Antiquity, or the Work of ſome famous Maſter which* Antony *may have a particular Eſteem for.* Theſe Relations I had from my Grandfather concerning *Philotas.*

To return to *Cleopatra: Plato* admits but of four ſorts of Flattery, but this Woman would have learned him a thouſand different kinds, that he never dreamed of; Were *Antony* ſerious or diſpoſed to Mirth, ſhe had every Minute new Graces and new Arts to ſeaſon All with Pleaſure and Delight; ſhe had the abſolute Power over his Spirit, and never left him Day nor Night; ſhe played at Dice with him, Drank with him, Hunted with him, and when Exerciſing in Arms ſhe was always by him; ſhe would go a rambling with him anights, to diſturb and torment People under their Windows, dreſt like an ordinary Woman, for *Antony* went in the Diſguiſe of a Servant, and from thoſe Expeditions he often came home very ſcurvily treated, and ſometimes beaten ſeverely. Though this ſort of Behaviour was very unpleaſing to Some, yet the *Alexandrians* were well ſatiſfied in his Frolicks and jovial Humour, ſaying pleaſantly, *that they had great Obligations to* Antony, *who diverted Them with his Comical Countenance, and reſerved the Tragical for the* Romans. It would be very tedious to be more particular in his Follies, but his Fiſhing muſt not be forgot. He went out one Day to Angle with *Cleopatra,* and being ſo unfortunate as to catch nothing in the Preſence of his Miſtreſs, he fell into a great Paſſion, and gave ſecret Orders to the Fiſhermen to Dive under Water, and put Fiſhes that had been freſh taken upon

upon his Hooks, after which he drew so fast that the subtile *Ægyptian* perceived it, and seemed wonderfully surprised at his great Luck and Dexterity, but told her Friends in secret what had happened, and invited them all to come the next Day, and be Spectators of a comical Adventure, and They attended her accordingly.

As soon as they were all got into the Fishing Vessels, and *Antony* had let down his Line, she commanded one of her Servants to be beforehand with *Antony*'s, and He being the nimbler of the Two dived first, and fixed upon his Hook a salted Fish, One of Those which were usually taken in the *Pontick* Sea. The Moment *Antony* thought he had a Bite he drew up his Line, and, as may easily be imagined, was soundly laught at by the whole Company: When *Cleopatra* with an agreeable Air said, *Allow us, brave Sir, poor Inhabitants of* Charos *and* Canopus, *the Reputation to be skilful in this Art, your Game is Cities, Provinces, and Kingdoms.*

Whilst *Antony* was thus amused in his childish Recreations, two Messengers arrived, the One from *Rome* to inform him that his Brother *Lucius* and his Wife *Fulvia*, after many Quarrels between Themselves, had at last joined to resist *Cæsar*, but having lost all were forced to fly out of *Italy*. The Other brought little better News, how that *Labienus* at the Head of the *Parthians* had over-ran *Asia* from the *Euphrates* and *Syria* all along to *Lydia* and *Ionia*. Notwithstanding which it was a long time before he could be roused from his Lethargy, but at length as it were recovering from a drunken Fit, he set onward for *Parthia*, and proceeded as far as *Phœnicia*; but upon the Receipt of most lamentable Letters from *Fulvia*, he turned his Course with two hundred Ships to *Italy*, and in his way receiving such of his Friends as fled from *Rome*, he was by them given to understand that *Fulvia* had been the sole Cause of the War, a Woman of a restless Spirit, and very bold, and withal her Hopes were that the Commotions in *Italy* would force him out of the Arms of *Cleopatra*. But it happened that *Fulvia*, as she was coming to meet her Husband, fell sick by the way,

way, and died at *Scyon*. This Accident facilitated an Accommodation between *Antony* and *Cæsar*; for They who were Friends to them Both, seeing *Antony* arrived in *Italy*, and nothing laid to his Charge, but what he disowned, and shifted off upon *Fulvia*; they would not suffer that the time should be spent in justifying and accusing each other, but made them both Friends, and so proceeded to the Division of the Empire, fixing the *Ionian* Sea as the Boundary; for the Eastern Provinces were given to *Antony*, to *Cæsar* the Western, and *Africa* left to *Lepidus*; and an Agreement was made, that every one in their turn, as they thought fit, should make their Friends Consuls, when they took it not Themselves. This Agreement was well approved of, but it was thought a stronger tie would be very necessary, and here Fortune was propitious, for *Cæsar* had a Sister named *Octavia*, elder than Him, but not of the whole Blood, for His Mother's Name was *Accia*, and Hers *Ancharia*. This Sister he loved intirely, and a Lady she was of a Noble Character, the Relict of *Caius Marcellus*, who died just before; and *Antony* passed now for a Widower by the Death of *Fulvia*; for tho' he did not disavow the Passion he had for *Cleopatra*, yet he disowned any thing of Marriage, Love and Reason still debating in his Breast what was to become of the fair *Ægyptian* Queen. Every Body was for promoting this Marriage, it being the general Expectation, that a Lady of so much Honour, Beauty and Prudence, being perpetually with *Antony*, and having great Credit with him, as might reasonably be expected, Affairs would easily be so ordered that no Difference should arise betwixt Him and *Cæsar*: Both Parties being agreed they went to *Rome* to celebrate the Nuptials, the Senate dispensing with the Law by which a Widow was not permitted to marry 'till ten Months after the Death of her Husband.

*Sextus Pompeius* was at that time in possession of *Sicily*, and with his Ships under the Command of *Menas* and *Menecrates*, two famous Pirates, infested the *Italian* Coast in such a manner that no Vessels durst venture into

thoſe Seas. *Sextus* had behaved himſelf with much Humanity towards *Antony*, having kindly received his Wife and Mother in their Flight, and it was judged fit that He ſhould be received into the Peace; they met nigh to the Promontory of *Miſenum* upon a Point of Land that runs into the Sea, *Pompey*'s Fleet being at Anchor in the Road, and *Antony* and *Cæſar*'s Army drawn up all along the Sea-ſide over-againſt them. There it was concluded that *Sextus* ſhould quietly enjoy the Government of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, He conditioning to ſcour the Seas of all Pirates, and to ſend a certain Proviſion of Corn every Year to *Rome*.

This agreed on, they invited one another to Supper, and by Lot it fell to *Pompey*'s turn to make the firſt Entertainment, and *Antony* aſking *where it was to be*, *There*, ſaid he, pointing to his Ship, *for that is the only Houſe that* Pompey *is Heir to of his Father's*: And This he ſaid, reflecting upon *Antony* who then was in Poſſeſſion of his Father's Houſe. Having caſt Anchor, and made a Bridge from the Promontory into the Galley, he received them very gallantly; when they began to grow warm, which occaſioned many pleaſant Paſſages upon the Subject of *Antony*'s and *Cleopatra*'s Loves, *Menas* the Pirate whiſpered *Pompey* in the Ear, *Sir*, ſaid he, *will you be pleaſed that I cut the Cable, which will not only make you Maſter of* Sicily *and* Sardinia, *but of the whole* Roman *Empire*. *Pompey* having for a while conſidered what was propoſed, returned him this Anſwer, Menas, *This might have been done without acquainting me of it, but now let us make the beſt of our preſent Condition, for I cannot violate my Faith once given*. And ſo having been treated by the other two in their Turns he ſet Sail for *Sicily*.

As ſoon as Matters were concerted, *Antony* diſpatched *Ventidius* into *Aſia*, to put a ſtop to the Inroads of the *Parthians*; and He, to make a Compliment to *Octavius*, accepted of the Office of being Prieſt to the deceaſed *Cæſar*, and in all Occaſions of common Civility, as alſo in Matters of the higheſt Concernment, they Both behaved themſelves with

with a great deal of Easiness and Friendship: But *Antony* could not suffer with Patience, that *Cæsar*, in all little Plays which they frequently diverted themselves with, should be constantly victorious: He had usually with him an *Ægyptian*, skilful in the Calculation of Nativities, who either to make his Court to *Cleopatra*, or that by the Rules of his Art he found it to be so, did declare to him, that though the Fortune that did attend him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by *Cæsar*'s; and advised him to keep himself far distant from that young Man, *for your Genius*, said he, *dreads His. When absent from Him Yours is proud and brave, but in the Presence of his unmanly and dejected*; and the Event shewed that the *Ægyptian* spoke truth, for whensoever they played by drawing Lots or at Dice *Antony* was still the Loser; and as they often fought Game-Cocks or Quails *Cæsar*'s always had the Victory. This gave *Antony* a sensible Displeasure, and made him put great Confidence in the Skill of his *Ægyptian* Astrologer, so that having quitted the Management of home Affairs to *Cæsar*, he left *Italy*; and *Octavia*, who had been lately brought to Bed of a Daughter, was taken with him into *Greece*.

Whilst he wintered in *Athens* he received the joyful News of *Ventidius* his Victory over the *Parthians*, and that *Labienus* was slain, as was likewise *Pharnapates* the most experienced of all King *Orodes* his Generals, and a Man of the greatest Reputation. Upon the Arrival of this important Advice he made a publick Feast for all the *Græcians*, exhibited Prize-fightings to the *Athenians*, and presided in Person as Moderator. On this Occasion he laid aside the Ensigns of his Authority, and made his Procession in a long Gown and Slippers with the Wands marching before, which are usual in those Solemnities, and performed his Duty in parting the Combatants, when they had fought enough. Just as his Army was ready to march he made him a Garland of the Olive Tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and in Obedience to some Oracle he filled a Vessel with the Water of the

*Clepſydra* to carry along with him. *Pacorus*, the *Parthian* King's Son, at this time made an Inrode into *Syria*, and was met by *Ventidius*, who gave him Battle in the Country of *Cyrreſtica*, ſlew moſt of his Men, and *Pacorus* among the reſt. This Victory gave great Reputation to the *Romans*, and redeemed their Honour, which had ſuffered much ever ſince the Defeat of *Craſſus*, the *Parthians* being obliged, after the Loſs of three Battles ſucceſſively, to keep themſelves within the Bounds of *Media* and *Meſopotamia*. *Ventidius* thought it not prudent to puſh his good Fortune any further, for fear of raiſing ſome Jealouſies in *Antony*, but turning his Arms againſt Such as had revolted, he reduced them to their former Obedience. Amongſt the reſt he beſieged *Antiochus* King of *Commogena*, who made an Offer of a thouſand Talents for his Pardon, and the Promiſe of a full Obedience, and Submiſſion to all *Antony*'s Commands; but *Ventidius* told him that *Antony* was upon his March, and that he muſt ſend his Propoſals to Him, for that He had no Power to treat with him; to the End that this ſmall Affair might be tranſacted in *Antony*'s Name, that People might not think he did nothing but by his Lieutenants. But the Siege growing very tedious, and the Beſiegers perceiving that they could not hope for any reaſonable Compoſition, reſolved to hold it out to the utmoſt extremity; ſo that *Antony*, aſhamed to ſee how little he had done, repented himſelf that he had not accepted the firſt Offer; and in concluſion was glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus*, for three hundred Talents, and ſo raiſed the Siege. As ſoon as he had ſettled ſome Affairs in *Syria*, which ſtood in need of a Regulation, he returned to *Athens*, where he conferred on *Ventidius* the Honours he had ſo well deſerved, and then ſent him to *Rome* there to receive the more ſubſtantial Honours of a Triumph. He was the firſt *Roman* that ever triumphed over the *Parthians*; a Man of an obſcure Birth, but one who by *Antony*'s Friendſhip had Opportunities given him of performing great things, and thoſe Opportunities he huſbanded with

with ſuch good Management that he confirmed the Obſervation made both of *Cæſar*, and *Antony*, that *they were more ſucceſsful when their Armies were led by their Lieutenants than when they commanded in Perſon.* For *Soſſius*, *Antony*'s Lieutenant, performed Miracles in *Syria*; and *Canidius*, whom he left in *Armenia*, ſubdued the whole Country, and after having defeated the Kings of *Albania* and *Iberia*, he penetrated with his victorious Army as far as to the Mountain of *Caucaſus*, by which means the Fame of *Antony*'s Arms was grown very terrible to the barbarous Nations.

But being provoked at *Cæſar* by ſome Reports that he had received againſt him, he immediately ſet ſail for *Italy* with a Fleet conſiſting of three hundred Sail, and being refuſed Harbour in the Port of *Brunduſium*, he made for *Tarentum*. There his Wife *Octavia*, who came from *Greece* with him, and was then big of her third Child, prevailed with him to ſend Her to her Brother. As ſhe was on her Journey to *Rome*, ſhe met *Octavius* by the way, and had a Conference with him in the Preſence of his two Friends *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, who attended him at that time, and Whom ſhe was willing to have Witneſſes of what paſſed between them. She begun with conjuring him, with Tears in her Eyes, to conſider her Circumſtances, and not ſuffer her, inſtead of the moſt fortunate of Women, to become the moſt deplorable. *For, at preſent*, ſaid ſhe, *the Eyes of the whole World are fixed upon Me on Account of the Relation I ſtand in to Two of the greateſt Men in it, being Wife of the One, and Siſter to the Other. If raſh Counſels prevail, and War enſues, I ſhall be miſerable without Redreſs, for on what ſide ſoever Victory falls, I ſhall be ſure to be the Loſer.* *Cæſar* was ſoftned by the Intreaties of his Siſter, and marched in a peaceful manner to *Tarentum*. They who were preſent at his Arrival were ſtrangely delighted to ſee ſo powerful an Army drawn up on the Shore, and ſo great a Fleet in the Harbour, without committing the leaſt Act of Hoſtility on either Part; nothing but kind Salutations, and other Expreſſions of

Joy and Friendſhip paſſing between the one ſide, and the Other. *Antony* firſt invited *Cæſar* to Supper, which he accepted of in Conſideration of *Octavia*: At length an Agreement was made between them, that *Cæſar* ſhould give *Antony* two of his Legions to ſerve him in the *Parthian* War, and that *Antony* ſhould in Return leave with him an hundred armed Gallies. Beſides This, *Octavia* obtained of her Huſband twenty Brigantines for her Brother; and of her Brother a thouſand Foot for her Huſband. So having parted very good Friends, *Cæſar* went immediately to make War with *Pompey* for the Recovery of *Sicily*: And *Antony* leaving with him his Wife and Children, and his Children by his former Wife *Fulvia*, ſet Sail for *Aſia*. Then it was that the worſt of infectious Diſeaſes, Love, and the Love of *Cleopatra*, which had lain quiet in his Breaſt ſo long, and ſeemed to have given Place to the temperate Duties of Life upon his Approach to *Syria*, gathered Strength again, and broke out into a Flame. Then that untractable and unbridled Horſe of his Soul, as *Plato* calls it, breaking looſe, and rejectiug all ſerious and wholſom Counſels, which alone were able to reſtrain, and ſave him, hurried him on, and forced him to ſend *Fonteius Capito* to conduct *Cleopatra* into *Syria*.

As ſoon as She was arrived, he acknowledged her Complaiſance in moſt bountiful Preſents; for beſides what he had given her before, he added the Province of *Phœnicia*, the Lower *Syria*, *Cyprus*, great Part of *Cilicia*, and that ſide of *Judæa* which produces the true Balm, together with that Part of *Arabia Nabathæa* which borders upon the Ocean. Theſe profuſe Gifts much diſpleaſed the *Romans*; for although he had inveſted ſeveral private Perſons in great Governments and Kingdoms, and bereaved many Kings of Theirs, as *Antigonus* of *Judæa*, whoſe Head he cauſed to be ſtruck off, the firſt crown'd Head that ever ſuffered that opprobrious Death; yet nothing was ſo grievous to the *Romans*, as the vile Profuſions he made upon that Woman; and their Diſſatisfaction was much augmented by

his

his giving the Sir-name of the Sun and Moon to *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, Twins born to him by Her. But He, who knew how to varniſh over the moſt diſhoneſt Actions with ſpecious Colours, would ſay, that the Greatneſs of the *Roman* Empire conſiſted more in giving, than in conquering Kingdoms, and that the Noble Blood of Kings was communicated to all the World, when they left their Offspring in every Place they came, and that by this means He had the Honour to deſcend from *Hercules*, who never founded the Hopes of his Poſterity upon the Fruitfulneſs of one Woman, as if he had been afraid to tranſgreſs the Laws of *Solon*, and of being cited before a Judge for having violated the Ordinances relating to Procreation, but rather choſe to leave ſeveral Branches in Nature, by ſowing of Children up and down in many Places.

After *Phraates* had killed his Father *Orodes*, and taken Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, many of the *Parthian* Nobility left their Country; among the reſt, *Moneſes*, a Nobleman of great Authority, who made his Application to *Antony*, by whom he was received with great Kindneſs; for comparing the Fortune of this *Parthian* with That of *Themiſtocles*, and vying in Wealth and Magnificence with the Kings of *Perſia*, he beſtowed three Cities on him for his Maintenance, *Lariſſa*, *Arethuſa*, and *Hierapolis*, which was formerly called *Bombyce*. But the King of *Parthia* ſoon after recalled him, and gave him his Word and Honour for his Safety. *Antony* was not unwilling to give him leave to return, hoping thereby to ſurpriſe *Phraates*; for he ſent him Word he would remain his Friend, upon Condition he ſent back the *Roman* Standards and Enſigns which had been taken by the *Parthians* when *Craſſus* was ſlain, together with as many of the Priſoners as were ſtill ſurviving. This done, he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, and marched through *Arabia*, and *Armenia*, where he made a Review of his Army as ſoon as he was joined by his own Troops, and Thoſe of his Allies; for he had ſeveral Princes in Alliance with him, among whom *Artuaſdes*, King of *Armenia*, was the moſt Potent, for He alone furniſhed him

him with a Body of ſix thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe. There appeared at this Muſter ſixty thouſand *Roman* Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, who tho' they conſiſted of *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*, yet were reckoned as *Romans*. Of other Nations the Number amounted to thirty thouſand, including the light-armed, and the Cavalry.

It is ſaid that this formidable Power, which put all the *Indians* on the other ſide of *Bactria* under the greateſt Conſternation, and alarmed *Aſia*, proved utterly unprofitable to him through his doting Fondneſs for *Cleopatra*. For his Impatience of returning to Her, and ſpending the Winter with her, made him begin the War too early in the Seaſon, and act in every reſpect with the utmoſt Precipitation. Like a Perſon under the Power of Witchcraft, or Inchantment, he continually caſt a longing Eye that way, as to his beloved Object, and was more deſirous of throwing himſelf at her Feet, than of overcoming the Enemy. For whereas he ſhould have taken up his Winter-Quarters in *Armenia*, and refreſhed his Men, who were tired with a long March of eight thouſand Furlongs, and have taken the Advantage early in the Spring, and ſeized on *Media*, before the *Parthians* were drawn out of Garriſon, he had not Patience to expect his time, but marched into the Province of *Atropatene*, leaving *Armenia* on the right Hand, and laying waſte all the Country. His haſte was ſo great, that he left behind him all the Engines of Battery, which followed the Camp on three hundred Carriages, among which was a Ram fourſcore Foot long; and it was impoſſible, if any of them came to be damaged, to have them repaired in thoſe upper Provinces of *Aſia*, which produce no Trees either high enough, or of Strength ſufficient for ſuch Uſes. Theſe were left to follow him under a Guard commanded by *Tatianus*, whilſt He Himſelf went and laid Siege to the ſtrong City *Phraata*, wherein were the King of *Media*'s Wives and Children. Here he was ſoon made ſenſible of the Error he committed, in leaving the battering Rams behind him; for want of which, and that his Men might be able to attack the

the Beſieged Hand to Hand, he was conſtrained to caſt up a Mount of Earth againſt the Wall, which coſt his Troops much Time and Labour.

In the mean time *Phraates* arrived with a numerous Army, and upon Intelligence that *Antony* had left his Machines behind, he ſent a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe, with orders to ſeize them. This Party attacked *Tatianus*, who fell in the Action, and with him about ten thouſand of his Soldiers. The *Barbarians* made themſelves Maſters of the Engines, and deſtroy'd them. At the ſame time they took many Priſoners, among whom was King *Polemon*. This great Miſcarriage in the opening of the Campaign, did much diſcourage *Antony*'s Army; and *Artuaſdes* King of *Armenia*, deſpairing of any better Succeſs, withdrew himſelf with all his Forces from the *Roman* Camp, although he had been the chief Promoter of the War. The *Parthians*, encouraged by this Victory, came up to the *Romans* at the Siege, and giving them many Affronts, *Antony*, who feared leſt if he ſuffered the Soldiers to lie idle they would be intimidated, and by degrees ſink into Deſpair, took ten Legions, three *Prætorian* Cohorts heavy-armed, and all his Cavalry, and led them out to Forage, being perſuaded that That was the only way to draw the Enemy after him, and force them to a Battle.

By that time he had made a Day's March, he ſaw the *Barbarians* in Motion on every ſide, watching an Opportunity of falling upon him in his March. He thereupon gave the Signal for Battle in the middle of his Camp, and at the ſame time ſtruck his Tents, as if his Intentions were not to fight, but retire. Accordingly he paſſed by the Army of the *Barbarians*, which was formed in the Shape of a half Moon, having beforehand given order to the Horſe to charge the Enemy upon full ſpeed ſo ſoon as they ſaw the Legions were come up nigh enough to ſecond them. The *Parthians* who ſtood drawn up over-againſt them beheld the *Roman* Army as it was advancing, and were ſtruck with Admiration at the Exactneſs of their Order and Diſcipline; for as they moved

moved they maintained their Intervals, without diſcompoſing their Ranks in the leaſt, and ſhook their Pikes as they marched on in a profound Silence.

As ſoon as the Signal was given the Horſe turned ſhort, and fell with loud Shouts and great Impetuoſity upon the *Parthians*. They on the other hand received them with great Courage, tho' the *Romans* had in an Inſtant poſſeſſed themſelves of that Space of Ground, for want of which they could not make a right Uſe of their Arrows. But when the Infantry came to charge them, what with their own Shouts, and the Rattling of their Armour, the *Parthian* Horſes were ſo ſcared, that they ſoon began to bound, and fall into Diſorder; and the *Parthians* themſelves being ſeized with a Panick, fled without once charging. *Antony* followed them very cloſe, flattering himſelf with the Hopes that the War, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of it, would be determined by that ſingle Action. But after the Foot had purſued them for the Space of fifty Furlongs, and the Horſe three times as far, upon caſting up his Account he found he had ſlain but Fourſcore, and taken Thirty Priſoners. This was a great Diſcouragement to the *Romans*, to conſider that when they were victorious their Advantage was ſo ſmall, and then when they were beaten they loſt ſuch great Numbers; as it happened when the Carriages were taken.

The next Day, having pack'd up their Baggage, they marched back to the Camp before *Phraata*. In their March they met with ſome of the ſcattered Troops of the Enemy, ſoon after with greater Parties, and at length with the whole Body, who had rallied, and as if they had been freſh Troops and unbroken, haraſſed them on every Side, and defied them, ſo that they could not reach their Camp without much Labour and Difficulty.

The *Medes* had during his Abſence made a Sally, and conſtrained Thoſe who had been poſted for the Defence of the Mount to deſert it; wherefore *Antony* at his Return reſolved to proceed againſt them by Decimation,

which

which is done by dividing the Runaways into Tens, and out of every Ten to put One to Death, as it happens by Lot; and for Them that eſcape, They, inſtead of Wheat, have their Proportion or Allowance in Barley. The War was now become grievous to both Parties; but was more dreadful to *Antony*, in reſpect that he was threatned with Famine, for he could no longer forage without great Hazard and Slaughter of his Men. And *Phraates* on the other ſide knowing by Experience the Humour of the *Parthians*, did more than ſuſpect, that if the *Romans* obſtinately perſiſted in their Reſolution of carrying on the Siege, the Autumnal Equinox being paſt, and the Rains threatning him, he ſhould be deſerted by his Soldiers, who would ſuffer any thing rather than winter in open Field. To prevent which, he made uſe of the following Stratagem. He gave Order to his Officers, not to purſue the *Romans* too cloſe, when they met them foraging, but to ſuffer them to carry off ſome Proviſion; that they ſhould praiſe their Valour, and declare that it was with juſt reaſon that their King looked upon the *Romans* as the braveſt Men in the World; and that they ſhould upon Opportunity of more familiar Diſcourſe blame *Antony* for his Obſtinacy, ſince *Phraates* deſired nothing more than Peace, and an Occaſion to ſhew how ready he was to ſave the Lives of ſo many brave Soldiers: He on the contrary defeated all his generous Deſigns, and expoſed himſelf to two moſt dangerous Enemies, Winter and Famine, which muſt of neceſſity deſtroy them, tho' the *Parthians* were ready with their friendly Endeavours to preſerve them. *Antony* receiving theſe Reports from many Hands, began to be in ſome hopes; but he would not ſend any Ambaſſadors to the *Parthian*, 'till he was informed by theſe kind Enemies, whether what they ſaid was of their own Head, or by Order of their King. Theſe *Barbarians* aſſured him that This was the Senſe of their Maſter, and at the ſame time gave him new Encouragement to believe them. *Antony* hereupon ſent ſome of his Friends to demand the Standards and Priſoners

ners that were yet remaining in their Hands ſince the Defeat of *Craſſus*, leſt if he ſhould ask nothing, he might be ſuppoſed to be too much overjoyed with the leave given him to make his Retreat in quiet. The *Parthian* King made anſwer, *That as for the Standards and Priſoners, They were out of the Queſtion, but if he thought fit to retreat, he might do it when he pleaſed, in peace and ſafety.* Some few Days therefore being ſpent in packing up the Baggage, he reſolved upon his March; and here it was that *Antony*, the Man in the World the fitteſt to harangue the Army, being oppreſſed with Shame and Grief, could not find in his Heart to ſpeak Himſelf, but employed *Domitius Ænobarbus* in that Office. Many of the Soldiers reſented it, as an undervaluing of them; but the better ſort ſaw the true Cauſe, and thought This rather an Argument, why they on their ſide ſhould treat their General with more Reſpect than ordinary. *Antony* having reſolved to return by the ſame way he came, which was thro' a plain flat Country, a certain *Mardian* came to him (one who was very converſant with the Manners of the *Parthians*, and whoſe Fidelity to the *Romans* had been tried at the Battle where the Machines were loſt) and adviſed him to leave the Mountains on his right Hand, and not to expoſe his Men heavy-armed in an open Country to the Aſſaults of a numerous Army of light Horſe and Archers; *That* Phraates *had with fair Promiſes perſuaded him from the Siege, that he might with more eaſe cut him off in his Retreat; but if ſo he pleaſed, he would conduct him a nigher way, where he ſhould find the Neceſſaries for his Army in greater abundance.* *Antony*, upon This, began to conſider what was beſt to be done; he was unwilling to ſeem to have any Miſtruſt of the *Parthians* after their Treaty; but being more deſirous to march his Army the higheſt and moſt convenient way, he demanded of the *Mardian* ſome aſſurance of his Faith, who offered himſelf to be bound until the Army came ſafe into *Armenia*. Two Days he conducted the Army bound, and on the Third, when *Antony*, little expecting

ing the Enemy, was marching in no very good Order, the *Mardian* perceiving the Banks of a River broken down, and the Water overflowing the Way by which they were to paſs, imagined that This might be done by the *Parthians*, on purpoſe to hinder their March, and did therefore adviſe *Antony* to be upon his Guard, for that the Enemy was nigh; and no ſooner had he put his Men in order, diſpoſing of the Slingers in the Front, to make the Onſet, but the *Parthians* came pouring upon them, thinking to encompaſs the Army. They were received by the light Horſe, which were ſore galled by their Javelins, but They Themſelves being warmly entertained, and many wounded, made their Retreat; but ſoon after rallying up afreſh, they were beat back by a Battalion of *Gallick* Horſe, and appeared no more that Day. By their manner of Attack, *Antony* being inſtructed what to do, did not only place the Slings and Javelins in the Front, but lined Both the Wings with the ſame, and ſo marched in a ſquare Battle, giving order to the Horſe to charge and beat off the Enemy, but not to follow them too far in their Retreat. So that the *Parthians* not doing much more Miſchief for the four enſuing Days than they received, began to abate in their heat, and complaining that the Winter-Seaſon was much advanced, preſſed for returning home.

On the fifth Day *Flavius Gallus*, a brave Officer, who had a conſiderable Command in the Army, came to *Antony*, deſiring of him ſome Troops of light Horſe out of the Rear and ſome other Horſe out of the Front, with which he would undertake to do ſome conſiderable Service: Which when he had obtain'd, he beat the Enemy back, not retiring, as was uſual, to the Groſs of the Army, but making his Ground good, and preſſing on with great Obſtinacy. The Officers who commanded in the Rear of this Detachment, perceiving how far he had got from the Body of the Army, ſent to warn him back, but he took no notice of them. It is ſaid, that *Titus* the Quæſtor ſnatched the Standard, and retreated, telling *Gallus* that he did very ill to lead

ſo many brave Men on to certain Deſtruction. He on the other ſide reviling him again, and commanding the Men that were about him to ſtand firm, *Titus* made his Retreat, but *Gallus* charging the Enemy in the Front, was encompaſſed by a Party that fell upon his Rear; which when he at length perceived, he ſent a Meſſenger to demand Succour. They who commanded the Legions, among whom was *Canidius*, a particular Favourite of *Antony*'s, committed a great Overſight on this Occaſion; for inſtead of marching up with the whole Army to the Relief of *Gallus*, they ſent only ſmall Parties, and when They were defeated, they ſtill ſent out other Reinforcements of the ſame Strength and Number; ſo that by their ill Management the whole Army was in danger of being routed, which had certainly happened if *Antony* Himſelf had not marched from the Front of the main Battle at the Head of the third Legion; which paſſing through Them that fled, faced the Enemies, and hindred them from any farther Purſuit. In this Engagement three thouſand were killed, and five thouſand carried back to the Camp wounded, amongſt Whom was *Gallus* ſhot through the Body with four Arrows, of which he died. *Antony* went from Tent to Tent, to viſit and comfort the wounded, and was not able to ſee his Men without weeping, but They with a chearful Countenance took him by the Hand, and intreated him to go and get his own Wounds dreſſed, and not concern himſelf for Them; calling him their Emperor and their General, and that if He did well They were ſafe. And indeed it may be ſaid that no General before him had ever been at the Head of ſo gallant a Body of Men; whether we conſider Strength and Youth, or Patience and Sufferance in all Labours and Fatigues. And as for that exact Obedience and particular Reſpect they bore their General, that Goodwill and perfect Friendſhip, which was ſo univerſal in the Army amongſt Small and Great, Nobles and Peaſants, Officers and common Soldiers, ſo affectionate and ſo devoted to him, as to prefer His good Opinion o

them to their very Lives and Being; in this part of Military Diſcipline I may boldly ſay, they equall'd the Glory and Reputation of ancient *Rome*. Of which Love, as I have ſaid before, many were the Reaſons, as the Nobility and Antiquity of his Family, his Eloquence, his Behaviour, his Liberality and Magnificence, his Familiarity in entertaining every Body, and particularly his Kindneſs in aſſiſting, viſiting and bewailing the Sick, furniſhing them with all things neceſſary, inſomuch that the poor Wretches who were ſick and wounded, were as heartily diſpoſed to ſerve as Thoſe who were in the full Enjoyment of their Health and Vigour. But this laſt Victory had ſo encouraged the Enemy, that they began to deſpiſe the *Romans*, ſtaying all Night on Horſeback nigh the Camp, in Expectation of plundering their Tents and Baggage, which they concluded they muſt deſert, as a great Impediment in their Flight; and in the Morning new Forces arrived, ſo that their Number was grown to be at leaſt forty thouſand Horſe: The King having ſent even the Guards that attended upon his own Perſon, as to a ſure and unqueſtion'd Victory; for he Himſelf was never preſent in Fight. *Antony* deſigning to harangue the Soldiers, called for his Mourning-Habit, that he might move them the more; but he was perſuaded by his Friends to put on That of General. In his Speech he gave great Commendations to Thoſe who kept their Ground, and repulſed the Enemy, but blamed ſuch as diſgraced themſelves by a diſhonourable Flight. The Former made him hope for every thing that could be expected from their approved Valour, and the Latter excuſing themſelves as well as they could, told him they were ready to undergo Decimation, or if there were any other Puniſhment he would pleaſe to inflict upon them they did ſubmit chearfully, only intreating that he would forget and not diſcompoſe himſelf with their Faults; at which he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and prayed the Gods, *that if to balance the great Favours he had received of them, any Judgment lay in Store, they would pour it upon*

*His Head alone, and make his Army Victorious over all its Enemies.* The next Day he took better order for their March, and the *Parthians*, who thought they were marching rather to plunder than to fight, were ſurpriſed to find the Enemy not diſheartned, but freſh and reſolute, ſo that they Themſelves began to loſe Courage; but for all This, at the Deſcent of a little Hill, where the *Romans* were obliged to paſs, the *Parthians* got together, and let fly their Arrows in great Showers upon them, and by reaſon of the Difficulty of the Way, their March was very ſlow. Here the Legions that were armed at all Points were ordered to defend on each ſide the light-armed, by kneeling down on their Knees, and holding their Shields ſloping over them, the next Rank holding Theirs over the Firſt, and ſo on onwards, inſomuch that the Army in this figure did much reſemble the Order that is obſervable in the tiling of a Houſe, or the Degrees in a Theatre, and is a ſure Defence againſt Arrows, which glance upon them without doing any Harm. The *Parthians* ſeeing the *Romans* down upon their Knees could not imagine but that it muſt proceed from Wearineſs; ſo that they laid down their Bows, and taking their Spears, made a fierce Onſet: When the *Romans* with a great Cry leaped upon their Legs, and with their Lances ſlew the foremoſt and put the reſt to Flight. After this Rate it was every Day, and the Trouble they gave *Antony* was ſo vexatious that his Marches were ſhort, by reaſon of which the Famine was very great in the Camp, for they could get but little Corn, and That which they got they were forced to fight for, and beſides This they were in great Want of Inſtruments to grind it, and make their Bread; they having left Them behind, the Baggage-Horſes being dead, or otherwiſe employed in carrying the Sick and Wounded. In ſhort, Proviſions grew ſo ſcarce in the Army, that half a Peck of Wheat was ſold for fifty Drachmas, and Oats for the Weight in Silver; they were brought to feed upon Herbs and Roots, ſuch as are commonly eaten were very ſcarce, ſo that

that they were conſtrain'd to venture upon Any they found. Among others they happened upon an Herb that was mortal. He that had eaten of it remembered nothing in the World; and employed himſelf wholly in removing of Stones from one Place to another, which he did with as much Earneſtneſs and Induſtry, as if it had been a Buſineſs of the greateſt Conſequence, and required Diſpatch; through all the Camp there was nothing to be ſeen but Men crawling upon the Ground for Stones, which they carried from one Place to another, but in the end after having vomited much Choler they fell down dead; eſpecially when their Wine began to fail, which was a ſovereign Remedy againſt this Diſtemper. When *Antony* ſaw them die ſo faſt, and the *Parthian* ſtill in Purſuit, he was heard to cry out, *O the Ten Thouſand, the Ten Thouſand!* in Remembrance of the famous Retreat of *Xenophon*, who when he had a longer Journey to make from *Babylon*, and a more powerful Enemy to deal with, conducted his Men home in Safety. The *Parthians* finding that they could not defeat the *Roman* Army, nor in any wiſe break the Order of their Battle, and that withal they had been ſo often worſted, began to treat the Foragers with a great deal of Humanity; they came up to them in all Appearance of Friendſhip with their Bows unbended, telling them that they were going home to their Houſes, that they had quite given o'er the Purſuit, and that only ſome *Median* Troops would follow them for two or three Days, not with any Deſign to annoy them, but only for the Defence of ſome ſcattering Villages; and upon ſaying This, they ſaluted them and embraced them with great Demonſtrations of Friendſhip. Hereupon the *Romans* began to take Heart, and *Antony* Himſelf had a great Mind to march through the flat Country, and quit the Mountains, where he was aſſured he ſhould be diſtreſſed for want of Water.

In the mean time arrived in the Camp an Officer belonging to the Enemy named *Mithridates*, and firſt Couſin to *Moneſes*, of whom we related that he came for

Refuge into the *Roman* Army, and received in Gift from *Antony* three Cities. Upon his Arrival he desired some body might be brought to him that could speak *Syriack* or the *Parthian* Tongue. One *Alexander* of *Antioch* a Friend of *Antony*'s was produced, to whom the Stranger declared, that he was sent to *Antony* from *Moneses* in acknowledgment of the Favours and Honours he had received from him, and to make him a Return if it were possible; after which Preamble he asked *Alexander if he saw those high Hills*, pointing at some Distance: He told him *yes*. *It is there*, said he, *the whole* Parthian *Army attend your Passage, the great Plains behind those Hills will be very advantageous to you in your March, and therefore there they do expect you in Ambush, being persuaded that you will confide in their Promises, and quit the way of the Mountains; it is true that in passing o'er the Mountains you will suffer the usual Inconveniences for want of Water, and the Fatigue will be somewhat the greater; but if you pass through the Plains,* Antony *must there expect infallibly to find the Fate of* Crassus. This said, he departed. *Antony* calling his Friends in Council, sent for the *Mardian* Guide, who was of the same Opinion. He told them *that the way through the Plain was a great way about, and very difficult to find, that the Other indeed was rough, but then it was but for a Day, and it was likewise true, that for That Day they were not to expect one Drop of Water.* Changing therefore his Mind, he marched away that Night, and commanded that every one should carry Water sufficient for his own Use. Most of them being unprovided of Vessels, Some made shift with their Helmets, and Others carried Theirs in Goat-skins. The *Parthians* were no sooner acquainted that the *Romans* were on their March, but they followed them, contrary to their Custom, the same Night, and by break of Day they fell in with the Rear, which was quite tired with marching and want of Sleep, so that they were not in a Condition to make any considerable Defence, for they had marched fifteen Leagues that night, and when at the

the End of their Journey they found the Enemy at their Heels, they were quite diſmayed. Beſides, being to fight for every Step of the Way they made in their Retreat, their Thirſt was increaſed beyond all Sufferance. They who were in the Front of the Army came up to a River, the Water of which was extremely cool and clear, but brackiſh and medicinal, and being drank cauſed an unquenchable Thirſt, and acute Pains in the Bowels; of this the *Mardian* had forewarn'd them, but their Thirſt was ſo great, that beating back all Thoſe who oppoſed them, they drank largely of it. *Antony* ran from one Place to another, begging they would have a little Patience, that not far off there was a River of wholſom Water, and that the reſt of the way was ſo difficult for the Horſe that the Enemy could purſue them no further; and ſaying This, he order'd a Retreat to be ſounded to call Thoſe back who were engaged, and commanded the Tents to be ſet up, that the Soldiers might refreſh themſelves in the Shade. But the Tents were ſcarce pitched, and the *Parthians* retired according to their cuſtom, when *Mithridates* came again to them, and informed the Interpreter, with whom he had before ſpoken, that he ſhould do well to adviſe *Antony*, as ſoon as his Troops were refreſhed, to endeavour with all Diligence to gain the next River, becauſe the *Parthians* would purſue them no further, but ſo far they were reſolved to follow them. *Alexander*, who was the Interpreter, made his Report to *Antony*, who ordered a good Quantity of Gold Plate to be preſented to *Mithridates*, who taking as much as he could well hide under his Gown went his way. Upon this Advice *Antony* decamped while it was yet Day, and the whole Army marched without receiving any Moleſtation from the *Parthians*; but the *Romans* themſelves were the Cauſe that that Night was the moſt terrible of any they had yet paſt; for ſome of the Army falling on Thoſe who had the Charge of the Treaſure, killed them, ranſacked the Baggage, and ſeized on the Money which was to pay the Army; and in the End they laid Hands

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on *Antony*'s own Equipage, broke all his inlaid Table and Cups of precious Stones, dividing the Fragments amongſt them. *Antony* hearing ſo great a Confuſion, could not imagine any thing leſs than that the Enemy falling upon his Troops, had utterly routed them, upon which he ſent for one of his Guards called *Rhamnus*, to whom he had formerly given his Liberty, and made him ſwear, that *whenſoever he ſhould give him Orders, he ſhould run his Sword through his Body, and cut off his Head, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of the* Parthians, *nor when dead be known to be their General.* While he was in this Conſternation, and all his Friends about him in Tears, the *Mardian* came into the Tent and gave them all new Life; he convinced them, that by the Coolneſs of the Air, and the freſh Gales that blew ſo temperately, the River which he ſpoke of could not be far off, and conſequently the Difficulties of their Retreat, and the Danger of the Enemy's Purſuit, were now at an End, which he was the more aſſured of, becauſe they had marched a great while and the Night was well nigh ſpent. He was informed at the ſame time that the great Confuſion which was in the Camp, proceeded only from the Avarice of ſome few Soldiers. In order to compoſe this unruly Tumult, he made a Halt, and commanded the Signal to be given for incamping. The Day began to break before the Tumult was well appeaſed, and the *Parthians* bore hard upon the Rear with their Arrows; the light-armed Troops were ordered to make head againſt them, and being ſeconded by the Legions, who covered one another with their Shields, they bravely received the Onſet of the Enemy, who did not think convenient to advance any further. Thus They who were in Front marching very leiſurely, came at laſt in ſight of the River; and *Antony* drawing up his Horſe upon the Banks in a Poſture fit to receive, and oppoſe the Enemy, and favour the Paſſage of his Army, took care to have the Sick and Wounded paſſed over firſt; whilſt They who ſtood upon the defenſive, ſoon found themſelves at Liberty to drink without

without any Moleſtation, for as ſoon as the *Parthians* perceived the River which was to be the Bounds of their Purſuit, they unbent their Bows, and told the *Romans* they might paſs over freely, and at the ſame time made them great Compliments in praiſe of their Valour and Conduct. When they were All on the other ſide, they refreſhed themſelves a little, and then continued their March, without depending too much upon the fair Speeches of the *Parthians*.

The ſixth day after this laſt Engagement they arrived at the River *Araxes*, which divides *Media* and *Armenia*, and ſeemed, both by its Deepneſs and the Violence of the Current, to be very dangerous in paſſing, and a Report had crept in amongſt them, that the Enemy was in Ambuſh ready to ſet upon them as ſoon as they ſhould be buſied in their Paſſage. But when they were got over on the other ſide, and found themſelves in *Armenia*, juſt as if they were come into Harbour after a Tempeſt, they worſhipped the Land, and ſhedding Tears for Joy, every one embraced his Friend; but taking their Journey through a Land that abounded in all ſorts of Plenty, and having ſuffered great Want, they eat with that Exceſs of every thing they met, that they fell into Dropſies, and Dyſenteries. Here *Antony* making a Review of his Army, found that he had loſt twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, of which the better Half periſhed, not by the Enemy, but by Diſeaſes. Their March was of twenty ſeven Days from *Phraata*, in which the *Parthians* were worſted in eighteen Battles, by which it is manifeſt that *Artuaſdes* was the Cauſe why *Antony* could not bring this War to a happy end; for had the ſixteen thouſand *Median* Horſe, skilful in the Diſcipline of the *Parthians*, and accuſtomed to their manner of Fight, been preſent, the *Romans* having put them once to flight, and the Purſuit left to the *Medians*, it is impoſſible they could have rallied after their Defeat, and appear again as they did in a poſture to receive the Enemy; for which Reaſon the whole Army was very earneſt with *Antony* to march

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into *Armenia*, but He taking advice of his Neceſſities, did not upbraid him with his Deſertion, nor in the leaſt abate of the uſual Civility with which he was wont to treat him; for he found the Army wearied out, and in want of all manner of Neceſſaries: But upon another Occaſion coming into *Armenia*, with Invitations and fair Promiſes he prevailed with *Artuaſdes* to meet him, where he ſeized him, bound him and carried him to *Alexandria*, there to be led in Triumph; by which he very much offended the *Romans*, in that he carried into *Ægypt* the triumphal Ornaments due unto his Country, only to ingratiate himſelf with *Cleopatra:* But theſe Matters happened afterwards. For the preſent, being impatient to join that bewitching Princeſs, he marched his Army in great haſte in the depth of Winter through continual Storms of Snow with the Loſs of eight thouſand of his Men, and came ill accompany'd to a Place called *Leucocome*, ſituated betwixt *Sidon* and *Beryte* nigh the Sea-ſide. There he remained in Expectation of her coming; and being impatient of the Delay ſhe made, he bethought himſelf of ſhortening the time in Drink and Debauchery, and not being able to endure the Tediouſneſs of a Meal, he would often ſtart from Table and run to the Sea-ſide to ſee if ſhe were coming; and This laſted 'till ſhe came into Port. At laſt ſhe arrived, and brought with her Clothes and Money for the Soldiers. Some Authors ſay that *Antony* having received the Clothes of her, diſtributed his own Money in Her Name.

About this time a Difference happened betwixt the King of *Media* and *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, concerning a Diviſion of the Booty that had been taken from the *Romans*; and the *Parthians* had been ſo active and expeditious, that the King of *Media* became alarmed at it, and ſaw himſelf in great Danger of loſing his Kingdom. In this Extremity he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Antony* with Offers of entering into a confederate War againſt *Phraates*, which gave *Antony* great hopes of obtaining his deſire, ſeeing that by this means he ſhould have ſuch Horſe as was neceſſary to reduce the *Parthians*, and

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on this Conſideration he returned inio *Armenia*, and joining the King of *Media* nigh *Araxes* they began the War.

In the mean time his Wife *Octavia*, who was all this while at *Rome*, was very deſirous to ſee him, and obtained her Brother's Permiſſion for that Purpoſe. Some Authors ſay he agreed to it not ſo much to gratify Her, as to find a good Pretence to begin the War upon her ill Reception. Upon her Arrival at *Athens*, ſhe received Letters from *Antony*, ſignifying to her his Pleaſure that ſhe ſhould wait for him there, and acquainting her with his new Expedition. Though ſhe was much diſpleaſed at this Injunction, and was not ignorant from whence it proceeded, yet ſhe ſent Letters to him, deſiring to know how he would have the Proviſions ſhe had made for his Uſe be diſpoſed of. For ſhe had brought with her Clothes for his Soldiers, many Horſes, Money and Preſents to his Friends and Officers, and two thouſand choſen Soldiers well armed to recruit the *Prætorian* Cohorts. *Niger*, one of *Antony*'s particular Friends, was the Perſon ſhe intruſted with this Meſſage, and acted very faithfully in the Execution of his Commiſſion, giving *Antony* a full Information of every thing he had in Charge, and cloſing it with ſuch Commendations of *Octavia* as ſhe worthily deſerved. *Cleopatra*, who knew very well that *Octavia* came only to diſpute with Her, and lay in her Claim to *Antony*'s Affections, fearing leſt that her eaſineſs of Behaviour and obſervance of *Antony*'s Humour, joined with her Diſcretion and powerful Alliance, ſhould render her Charms irreſiſtible, ſhe pretended to be dying for Love of him, and brought her Body down with a ſlender, opening Diet. When he entered the Room, ſhe fixed her Eyes upon him in a Rapture, and when he took his leave, ſhe never failed to ſwoon. She often had the Knack to ſeem all in Tears, and at the ſame time pretended to dry them up in haſte, and unobſerved, as if ſhe were aſhamed to have Him a Witneſs of her Weakneſs and Diſorder. This was the Part ſhe acted, juſt when he was ſetting out in order

order to aſſiſt the King of *Media* againſt the *Parthians*. Some of her Flatterers, who were zealous to ſecond her Deſigns, loaded *Antony* with their Reproaches. They charged him with Inſenſibility, and upbraided him with forcing an unhappy Lady to die for his Sake, a Lady whoſe Soul depended upon Him, and Him alone. They added, *That it was true* Octavia *was his Wife, and did enjoy that honourable Title, becauſe it was found convenient for the Affairs of her Brother that it ſhould be ſo; but* Cleopatra, *the Sovereign Queen of many Nations, muſt be contented with the Name of Miſtreſs, nor did ſhe ſhun or deſpiſe the Character, whilſt ſhe might ſee him, whilſt ſhe might live with him and enjoy him: If ſhe were bereav'd of This, the Loſs would be ſo inſupportable, that it would be impoſſible for her to out-live it.* *Antony* was ſo well perſuaded that *Cleopatra* muſt die if he forſook her, that he put off all thoughts of the War, and returned to *Alexandria*, deferring his *Median* Expedition 'till next Summer, though he was informed that the *Parthian* Affairs were much diſordered by foreign Revolts, and domeſtick Seditions. Somewhile after he went into that Country, but it was only to make an Alliance with the King of *Media*, by marrying One of his Sons by *Cleopatra* to the King's Daughter, who was yet very young; and after the nuptial Ceremonies were completed he returned, wholly taken up in his Thoughts with the Civil War, which he was then deſigning.

Upon *Octavia*'s Returning from *Athens*, *Cæſar*, who thought ſhe had been treated very injuriouſly, commanded her unto his own Houſe, but ſhe refuſed to leave the Houſe of her Huſband, and intreated him, unleſs he had other Motives to make War with *Antony*, to abandon Her Intereſts, for ſhe thought it would be very ſcandalous to have it reported that Two of the greateſt Commanders in the World had involved the *Roman* People in a Civil War, the One to juſtify his Miſtreſs, the Other in Reſentment of his Siſter's Uſage. Her Behaviour did confirm her Words to be her Reſolution, for ſhe remained in her Huſband's Houſe, and took that worthy

worthy Care, not only of his Children by Her, but of Thoſe by *Fulvia* alſo, as if He had been preſent. She received very kindly all the Friends of *Antony* who had any Pretenſion to Preferment; or came to *Rome* upon private Buſineſs, and was ready to prefer their Petitions to *Cæſar*; but this honourable Deportment of hers was injurious to the Reputation of *Antony*; for his injurious Treatment of a Lady of her Merit and Virtue drew on him the Reſentment of all Mankind.

Another Circumſtance added much to this general Reſentment, which was the Dividend he made to his Children at *Alexandria*; a Dividend preſumptuous in itſelf, worthy a place in Tragedy, and highly derogatory to the Honour of the *Romans*. For aſſembling the People in the publick Place, and cauſing two Golden Thrones to be placed in a State of Silver, the One for Himſelf, and the Other for *Cleopatra*, and lower Seats at their Feet for his Children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa* and *Cœloſyria*, and joined with her as her Collegue *Cæſario* the ſuppoſed Son of *Cæſar* the Dictator, of whom ſhe was with Child at the Death of *Cæſar*. As for his Own Sons by *Cleopatra*, who were to be treated in the Stile of Kings of Kings, to *Alexander* he gave *Armenia*, *Media*, and all the Dominions of *Parthia* ſo ſoon as They ſhould be conquered; to *Ptolemy* he made over *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*. At the ſame time he preſented them Both to the People, *Alexander* robed in a *Median* Habit, with a *Tiara* on his Head, and a Hat with a pointed Crown, by the *Perſians* called *Cydaris*; and *Ptolemy* in Slippers and a Mantle, with a Cap done about with the Diadem; for This was the Habit of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*; as the Other was of the Princes of *Media* and *Armenia*: And as ſoon as they had ſaluted their Parents, the One was received by a Guard of *Macedonians*, the Other by *Armenians*. *Cleopatra* was then, as at other times when ſhe appeared in publick, dreſt in the Habit of the Goddeſs *Iſis*, and gave Audience unto the People under the Name of *the New Iſis*. *Cæſar* relating theſe things in

the Senate, and often accuſing him to the People, had created in them an Ill-will towards him: Nor was *Antony* backward on His part to recriminate. The principal of his Articles which he preferred againſt him at *Rome* were Theſe; Firſt, "That he had not made any "Diviſion with him of *Sicily*, which was lately taken "from *Pompey*. Secondly, That he had not made Re"ſtitution of the Ships he had lent him. Thirdly, "That having abrogated the Power of *Lepidus*, his "Collegue, he had retained his Army, his Governments, and the Revenues that had been appropriated "to him, And laſtly, That he had parcelled out almoſt "all *Italy* amongſt his Own Soldiers, and deviſed nothing "to His." *Cæſar*'s Anſwer was as follows. "That "he had not diſmiſſed *Lepidus* from his Government "'till he had made it appear that he was unfit to go"vern; That as to what he had got in the War he "would divide with *Antony*, ſo ſoon as he would give "Him His Share of *Armenia*: and that *Antony*'s Sol"diers had no right to ſhare with His in *Italy*, becauſe "they were in Poſſeſſion of *Media* and *Parthia*, which "they had joined to the *Roman* Empire fighting bravely "under their General." *Antony* was in *Armenia* when this News came to him, he preſently therefore ſent *Canidius*, with ſixteen Legions, towards the Sea, but himſelf in the Company of *Cleopatra* went for *Epheſus*, where the Rendezvous of the Fleet was ordered, which conſiſted (reckoning in the Tenders) of eight hundred Veſſels, of which *Cleopatra* furniſhed two hundred, with twenty thouſand Talents, and Proviſions for the whole Army during the War. *Antony* was adviſed by *Domitius* and ſome Others to ſend *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, there to expect the Event of the War; but She dreading a Peace might be contrived by the Mediation of *Octavia*, had prevailed with *Canidius* by a conſiderable Sum of Money to plead her Cauſe with *Antony*, and to let him know, that it was not juſt, that One who bore ſo great a Part in the Charge of the Wars, ſhould be robbed of her ſhare of Glory in the carrying it on; nor would it be

politick

politick to disoblige the *Ægyptians*, who were so considerable a Part of his Naval Forces: Nor did he see how she was inferior to any of his Companions in Prudence and good Sense, considering how well she had governed a great Kingdom by herself alone, and by the constant Management of Affairs was arrived to a great Capacity. These Arguments gained upon his Spirit, for it was destined by Fate, that *Cæsar* should have All: So that joining their Forces, they made Sail for *Samos*, where they made very good Chear; for as it was ordered that all Kings, Princes and Governors, all Commonwealths, and Cities within the Circuit and Dependences of *Syria*, the *Mæotide* Lake, *Armenia*, and *Illyria*, should bring, or cause to be brought all Preparations and Munition necessary for War; so was it also proclaimed, that all such as made any Profession of Divertisement, should make their Appearance at *Samos*; so that (while the whole World was in Tears and Lamentation) this Island for some Days was filled with all sorts of Harmony, and the Theatre crowded with Dancers and Comedians, each City sent Oxen for Sacrifice, and the Kings that accompanied *Antony* were in a perpetual Dispute, Who should make the most magnificent Feasts, and the greatest Presents. Insomuch that it became a common Question among the Observers, *What will they not do by way of Triumph when they have got the Victory, since they are at such an Expence of Merriment at the opening of the War?* When these Festivals, which lasted for many days, were accomplished, he gave *Priene* to his Players for a Habitation, and then set Sail for *Athens*; where he again gave himself up to Pleasure, Sports and the Representations of the Theatre. *Cleopatra* being jealous of the Honour *Octavia* had received at *Athens* (for *Octavia* was much beloved by the *Athenians*) insinuated herself into the Favour of the People with all the Civilities imaginable: The *Athenians*, in requital, having decreed her Publick Honours, deputed several of the Citizens to wait upon her at her House. At the Head of this Deputation was *Antony* Himself, who was free of that City, and He

was the Perſon who was choſen their Speaker. At the ſame time he ſent ſome of his proper Officers to *Rome* to remove *Octavia* out of his Houſe. It is ſaid ſhe left it, carrying with her all his Children, except his Eldeſt by *Fulvia*, who was with his Father, and that ſhe burſt out into Tears in Conſideration that ſhe might be looked upon as One of the Cauſes of the Civil War. The *Romans* pitied her Misfortunes, as they did *Antony*'s Weakneſs, eſpecially as Many as had ſeen *Cleopatra*, who was not preferable to *Octavia*, either for Youth or Beauty. *Cæſar* having an Account what great Preparations *Antony* had made, was afraid leſt he ſhould be forced to an Engagement that very Summer, for he wanted many Neceſſaries, and the extraordinary Taxes which he was forced to lay for the raiſing of Money for the Service, proved very burdenſom to the People; for every Man was obliged to pay a fourth part of his yearly Revenue, and the Libertines or Sons of Freed-men an eighth of their Eſtates. This raiſed a general Cry againſt him, and put all *Italy* in a Ferment; inſomuch that it was looked upon as one of the greateſt of *Antony*'s Overſights, that he did not then preſs the War; for by delaying it he gave *Cæſar* leiſure to provide himſelf, and ſatisfy the People; who whilſt the Money is ſqueezing out of them are very mutinous, but when once they have parted with it they think no more of it, but reſt ſatisfied.

*Titus* and *Plancus*, Men of Conſular Dignity, and Friends to *Antony*, having been ill uſed by *Cleopatra*, whom they had oppoſed in her Deſign of being preſent in the War, came over to *Cæſar*; and being acquainted with *Antony*'s Teſtament informed Him of the Contents of it. It was depoſited in the Hands of the Veſtal Virgins, who denied to deliver it up, but ſent him word, if he pleaſed, he might come and ſeize it Himſelf; which he did; and reading it firſt over in private, he made a Mark upon thoſe Places which he thought moſt for his Purpoſe. After This he called the Senate, and had it read to them, at which Many were ſcandalized,

for

for they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of Proceeding to puniſh a Man in his Life-time for what was not to be put in Execution 'till after his Deceaſe. He inſiſted more eſpecially upon that part of the Will which related to his Burial, for he had ordered that though he died in the City of *Rome*, his Body ſhould be ſolemnly carried through the Market-Place, and ſent to *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. *Calviſius*, a Dependent of *Cæſar*'s, urged other Crimes againſt *Antony*, committed by him in Favour of *Cleopatra*, as That he had given her the Library of *Pergamum*, wherein were two thouſand diſtinct Volumes: That at a ſolemn Feaſt he had riſen from the Table, and treading upon her Foot, had given her a manifeſt Aſſignation: That he had ſuffered the *Epheſians* to ſalute her by the Name of *their Queen*: That he had frequently at the publick Audience of Kings and Princes, received amorous Meſſages written in Tablets made of Onyx and Cryſtal, and read them openly: That when *Turnius*, a Man of great Authority and Eloquence among the *Romans*, was pleading, *Cleopatra* happening to paſs by in her Chair, *Antony* ſhould leave them in the middle of their Cauſe, and wait upon her home: But *Calviſius* was looked upon as the Inventor of moſt of theſe Accuſations. *Antony*'s Friends went up and down the City to gain him Credit, and ſent *Germinius* to him to let him know his Affairs required him to be more circumſpect; that he was in danger of having his Office of Conſul and all his Governments taken from him, and of being proclaimed an Enemy to the City of *Rome*; but *Geminius* no ſooner arrived in *Greece*, but he was looked upon by *Cleopatra* as one of *Octavia*'s Spies. Under that Perſuaſion ſhe ridiculed him, and made him the conſtant Jeſt of the Table, where he was always placed at the lower End. *Geminius* endured all her Affronts and Outrages with much Patience, in hopes ſtill of having one Hour with *Antony*. At laſt *Antony*, inſtead of giving him a private Audience, aſked him one Night at a full Table what it was brought him thither? He anſwered, *That his Buſi-*

*neſs might very well deſerve a ſerious Conference; but one thing he had to deliver, which might be ſpoke either full or faſting, which was, That Matters would bear a much better Face, if* Cleopatra *would return into* Ægypt: *Antony* being very angry, *Cleopatra* told him, Geminius, *you have done very well to tell us this important Secret without a Rack.*

A few Days after this *Geminius* watched his Opportunity, and made his Eſcape to *Rome*; and many more of *Antony*'s Friends were driven from him, by the inſupportable Uſage they received from *Cleopatra*'s Flatterers. Amongſt theſe were *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the Hiſtorian. The laſt declared, that *he was afraid of his Life, and that* Glaucus *the Phyſician had informed him of* Cleopatra's *Deſign againſt him.* She was angry with him for having ſaid *that* Antony's *Friends were ſerved with ſour Wine, and that at* Rome, Sarmentus *drank nothing but* Falernum. This *Sarmentus* was one of thoſe Youths *Cæſar* entertained for his Pleaſures, ſuch as the *Romans* call *Deliciæ, Mignions. Cæſar* was no ſooner in readineſs, but he declared War againſt *Cleopatra*, and *Antony*'s Government was taken from him, for being ruled by a Woman: *Cæſar* added, that *Cleopatra had ſo bewitched* Antony *with her Charms and Potions that ſhe had bereaved him of his Senſes; and that it was not* Antony *who was to manage the War againſt the* Romans, *but* Mardion *the Eunuch,* Phorinus *and* Iras, Cleopatra's *Waiting-woman, and* Charmion, *who were become* Antony's *Counſellors, and Prime Miniſters of State.*

It is ſaid that this War was preceded by many Signs and Prodigies. The City of *Piſaurum*, where *Antony* had ſettled a Colony upon the *Adriatick*, was ſwallowed up in an Earthquake; a Marble Statue of *Anthony* at *Alba*, ſweat for many Days together; and though it were often wiped, it continued ſweating. Whilſt He Himſelf was in the City of *Patras* the Temple of *Hercules* was deſtroyed by Lightning: At *Athens, Bacchus* was by a violent Wind blown out of the *Gigantomachia*, and born into the Theatre. Now *Antony* pretended to derive his Pedigree

Pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a Profeſſion of imitating *Bacchus* in his way of Life, cauſing himſelf for that Reaſon, as we have before obſerved, to be called the *young Bacchus*. The ſame Whirlwind falling at *Athens* upon the Statues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus* called *Antonine*, brought Them down particularly from amongſt many others that ſtood equally expoſed. And in *Cleopatra*'s Admiral Ship, which was called *Antonias*, a diſmal Prodigy happened. Some Swallows had built in the Stern of the Ship, but Others came, and beat Them away, and deſtroyed their Neſts.

When both Sides had prepared themſelves for the War, it appeared that *Antony* had no leſs than five hundred Gallies well appointed, moſt of them had eight and ten Banks of Oars, ſo very rich, that they ſeemed deſigned for Shew and Triumph. His Land Forces were compoſed of a hundred thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe. He had of Vaſſal Kings attending, *Bocchus* of *Libya*, *Tarcondemus* of the Upper *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Commagena*, and *Adallas* King of *Thracia*; all theſe attended him in the War. Many others who could not ſerve in Perſon, ſent him their Contributions of Forces, *Polemon* of *Pontus*, *Manchus* of *Arabia*, *Herod* of *Jury*, and *Amyntas* ſtill King of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*; and even the King of *Media* ſent him a very conſiderable Reinforcement.

*Cæſar* on his part had no more than two hundred Gallies, but Thoſe well appointed, Eighty Thouſand Foot, and in the Number of his Horſe he was pretty equal with *Antony*. *Antony* had under his Command all that Tract of Land which lies betwixt *Euphrates* and the *Ionian* Sea, and great part of *Illyria*. *Cæſar*'s Government extended from *Illyria* to the Weſtward Ocean, and from the Ocean all along the *Tuſcan* and *Sicilian* Sea; as for the Diviſion of *Africk*, *Cæſar* had all the Coaſt that was oppoſite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and *Antony* the Provinces from *Cyrene*, reaching up into *Æthiopia*. He was ſo beſotted with the Love of *Cleopatra*, that tho' he

he was much ſuperior to the Enemy in Land-Forces, yet out of Complaiſance to his Miſtreſs, he rather choſe to engage him by Sea, and tho' he could not but ſee how ill his Navy was ſupplied; his Captains for want of Mariners preſſing in *Greece*, which had been exhauſted long before, every one they met, Carriers, Oſtlers, Labourers, and even Boys; and for all This, the Veſſels had not their Complement, but remained in a very ill plight for Sailing. On the other Hand *Cæſar*'s Ships were not built for Oſtentation or Pomp; they were light and nimble, well manned, and ſupplied with all neceſſary Accommodations. He had them ready riding at Anchor in the Ports of *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*, from whence he ſent to *Antony* to urge him not to draw out the time in delays, but to bring up his Forces, offering to give him ſecure Ports for his Fleet, and that for his Land-Forces he would allow him as much Ground to Encamp in, as a Horſe could run over from the Sea-ſide up the Continent. *Antony* on the other ſide bravely challenged him to a ſingle Combat, though he were much the older, and ſent him word that if that was not to be accepted he would meet him in Battle-array in the *Pharſalian* Fields, there where *Cæſar* and *Pompey* decided Their Quarrel. Whilſt *Antony* was at Anchor before *Actium*, where now ſtands *Nicopolis*, *Cæſar* croſt the *Ionian* Sea, and gained *Toryne* a Place in *Epyrus*, upon which *Antony*'s Soldiers were ready to Mutiny in conſideration that their Land-Forces were not yet arrived; but *Cleopatra* turning it into a Jeſt, *Indeed*, ſaid ſhe, *we ought to tremble now* Cæſar *has taken* Toryne. The next Morning as ſoon as it was light, *Antony* perceiving the Enemy making up to him, and not being aſſured that his Gallies, ſo ill provided, would be able to ſtand the Shock, armed all the Rowers, and placing them upon the Decks made a Shew of being in readineſs to engage; the Oars were mounted on each ſide of the Veſſels, and ſo he ſailed up into the Mouth of the Port of *Actium*, as tho' he were in all points provided for an Engagement. *Cæſar*, deceived by this Stratagem, retired. It appears alſo that *Antony*

very

very cunningly deprived him of Water; for being informed that there was very little, and That very unwholſom, in all the Parts adjacent to his Camp, he ſurrounded it with Forts and Trenches, on purpoſe to prevent their going to fetch it at any Diſtance. His Carriage to *Domitius* was very generous, and much againſt the Will of *Cleopatra*, for when he had made his Eſcape in a little Boat to *Cæſar*, having then an Ague upon him, although *Antony* could not but reſent it highly, yet he ſent after him his whole Equipage, with his Friends and Servants; and *Domitius* died ſoon after, under the Terrors of a guilty Conſcience for his Infidelity and Deſertion. Among the Kings alſo, *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus* went over to *Cæſar*. His Fleet was ſo unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and ſo unready upon every Deſign, that *Antony* was conſtrained to lay his ſtreſs upon the Land-Forces; and *Canidius*, who commanded the Legions, when he ſaw how things ſtood, changed his Opinion, and now was of Advice that *Cleopatra* ſhould be ſent back, and that *Antony* ſhould retire into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, there to decide the Quarrel in a Land Fight, and the rather becauſe *Dicomes* King of the *Getæ* was in readineſs to attend him with a great Army, and that it was not in the leaſt any Diſparagement to him to quit the Sea to *Cæſar*, who during the *Sicilian* Wars had gained ſo great Experience in Sea Affairs, but that it would ſeem very ridiculous for *Antony*, the moſt experienced Land Officer in the World, to make no other uſe of his well-diſciplined and ſtout Troops, but to diſperſe them on board ſeveral Ships, and render them uſeleſs in the Defence of a Navy. And yet in ſpite of all theſe Remonſtrances, *Cleopatra* carried it that a Sea-fight ſhould determine the whole Affair. For ſhe had then thoughts of flying, then ſhe was deliberating, and ordering her Affairs, not how to be aſſiſting to *Antony* in obtaining the Victory, but how ſhe might, when all was loſt, make her Eſcape with greateſt Safety. There was a long neck of Land, which from *Antony*'s Camp ran into the Sea, where his Fleet rid at Anchor.

Here

Here *Antony* uſed to walk to viſit his Ships, without ſuſpecting any danger. But being obſerved by one of *Cæſar*'s Servants, he went, and told his Maſter that it would be no difficult matter to ſurpriſe him. *Cæſar* immediately ordered an Ambuſh to be placed for that Purpoſe, and they were ſo near taking him, that they ſeiſed on the Perſon that walked juſt before him; and had they not riſen with too much Precipitation they had certainly ſeized on *Antony* Himſelf, who was forced to fly for it, and had much ado to get off.

When he had determined in himſelf to engage by Sea he ſet Fire to all the *Ægyptian* Ships but Sixty, and the beſt of his Gallies from three Ranks of Oars to ten he manned with twenty thouſand Soldiers, and two thouſand Archers. Here it is reported that a Foot Captain, an old experienced Officer, who had fought often under *Antony*, and had his Body all mangled with Wounds, called to him and ſaid, *O moſt noble General, why do you miſtruſt theſe Wounds and this Sword, ſo as to put your Confidence in rotten Wood? Let* Ægyptians *and* Phœnicians *contend at Sea, but give Us the Land, where we will die upon the ſpot or gain the Victory.* To this *Antony* anſwerd nothing, but by his Looks and Motion of his Hand ſeemed to bid him be of good Courage, and ſo paſſed forwards, having himſelf no Opinion of the poſture of his Affairs; inſomuch that when the Pilots were for leaving their Sails behind he would not ſuffer it, but commanded them to put 'em All aboard, ſaying, *We muſt not let one Enemy eſcape us.* That Day, and the three following, the Sea ran ſo high that they could not engage, but on the Fifth there was a Calm and then they fought. *Antony* commanded the right Wing in Conjunction with *Publicola*; *Cælius* commanded on the Left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Juſteius* the Main Body. *Octavius* gave the Charge of the left Squadron to *Agrippa*, commanding the Right in Perſon. As for the Land-Forces, *Canidius* was General for *Antony*, and *Taurus* for *Cæſar*; both Armies being drawn up in great Order all along the Shore. *Antony* in a ſmall Veſſel went from

one

one Ship to another encouraging his Soldiers, and adviſing them to ſtand firm, aſſuring them that the Bulk of the Ships would render the Fight as fixed, as if they were at Land. He commanded the Maſters of his Ships to receive the Enemy without ſtirring, but lying ſtill as at Anchor, and to keep within the Entrance of the Gulph. They relate of *Cæſar*, that going out of his Tent before Day in order to viſit his Fleet, he met a Man driving an Aſs, and aſking his Name, he told him it was *Eutychus* (which ſignifies Fortune) and my Aſs, ſays he, is called *Nicon* (which is Conqueror:) For this reaſon when in Token of his Victory he afterwards adorned that Place with the Beaks of the Ships he had taken, he cauſed two Statues of Braſs to be erected in the ſame Place, One repreſenting the Man, and the Other his Aſs. Having viewed his whole Fleet, and from the right Squadron diſcovering the Enemy's Poſture, he much admired the quiet Order they were in, for in all appearance they ſeemed as if they were lying at Anchor. He was of that Opinion a good while, which made him ſlacken his Sails, and keep about eight Furlongs diſtant from the Enemy. About Noon a gentle Gale blowing from the Sea, *Antony*'s Soldiers impatient of theſe Delays, and truſting to the Bulk and Height of their Ships, which they thought rendered them invincible, put their left Wing in Motion. *Cæſar* beheld This with great Satisfaction, and ordered his right Wing to bear back, on purpoſe to draw the Enemy as far out of the Strait as poſſible, that his Gallies, which were light, and nimble Sailors, might have an Opportunity of ſurrounding *Antony*'s heavy Ships, whoſe Bulk and want of Hands in Proportion to their Size, made them ſluggiſh, and unfit for Action.

When the Fight began there was no boarding, or running one Ship upon Another; becauſe on the one Side Thoſe of *Antony*, by reaſon of their Size and Burden, were incapable of a violent Motion, without which no Breach can be made upon the Ship on which they Strike; and on the Other, *Cæſar*'s Ships were ſo far from venturing

turing to run their Heads againſt the Heads of *Antony*'s, which were all armed with ſtrong iron Spikes, that they dared not even to bear upon their Sides, by reaſon they were made of ſtrong ſquare pieces of Timber faſtened together with maſſy Pins of Iron. So that this Engagement reſembled a Land Fight, or that I may ſpeak more properly, the Attack of ſome ſtrong Place, for there were always three or four Veſſels of *Cæſar*'s about one of *Antony*'s, preſſing them with Pikes, Javelins, Darts, and ſeveral Inventions of Fire, which they flung among them as in a real Aſſault, while *Antony*'s Men poured upon them, as from wooden Towers, and Batteries, Weapons of a monſtrous Size. In the mean time *Agrippa* extended his left Wing with a Deſign to hem in the Enemy, which when *Publicola* obſerved he found himſelf obliged to take up more Sea-room with His in order to prevent him. This Motion made him leave the main Body, which was diſheartened at it, and was at the ſame time vigorouſly puſhed by *Arruntius*. However the Victory ſtill remained doubtful, Fortune having not as yet determined of the Day; when on a ſudden the ſixty Ships belonging to *Cleopatra* were ſeen to crowd all their Sails, and to fly athwart Thoſe that were engaged, for they were poſted behind thoſe bulky Ships, and put them into diſorder now when they were forced to open, and make way for them. The Enemy beheld them with ſome Surpriſe, when they ſaw them with a fair Wind ſteering their Courſe for *Peloponneſus*. Here it was that *Antony* betrayed himſelf; here his Behaviour was ſo below the Character of a Captain, nay, indeed of any thing that was Man, and much more below himſelf, that he confirmed what has been obſerved, that a Lover's Soul lives in another Body; for as if he had been born part of her, and ſo to be carried whereſoever ſhe went, as ſoon as he ſaw her Ship under Sail, forgetting every thing, forgetting even Himſelf, he abandoned and betrayed Thoſe who were ſacrificing their Lives in his Service, and put himſelf aboard a Galley of five Ranks of Oars, taking with him only *Alexander* of *Syria*, and *Scellius*, to follow Her who had ſo well be-

gan

gan his Ruin, and would be ſure to accompliſh it. She perceiving him to follow gave the Signal to come aboard; and as ſoon as he was come up with her he was helped into the Ship, but without ſeeing her he went and placed himſelf at the Stern, where he remained in a melancholy Poſture, ſupporting his Head with both his Hands. In the mean while, *Cæſar*'s light Ships that were in purſuit of *Antony*, came within ſight, but *Antony* commanding his Pilot to tack about and make up towards them, they All gave back, except *Eurycles* the *Laconian*, who from off his Deck ſhaked his Lance at him in a very threatning Manner. *Antony* from the Stern demanded of him, *Who he was that purſued him ſo hard? I am*, ſays he, Eurycles *the Son of* Lachares, *armed with* Cæſar's *Fortune to revenge my Father's death.* This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a Robbery. However *Eurycles* would not venture to attack *Antony*, but ran with his full force upon the other Admiral, for there were two Ships ſo diſtinguiſhed, and with the Blow turned her round and took Her and another Ship, wherein was all his rich Plate and Furniture. So ſoon as *Eurycles* was gone, *Antony* returned to his Poſture and ſat ſilent; thus he behaved himſelf for three days, either angry or aſhamed, and then arrived at *Tenarus*. There the Ladies who were intruſted with their moſt important Affairs, firſt brought them to ſpeak together, then to eat, and at laſt perſuaded them to lie together. By this time ſeveral of his Ships, and a great many of his Friends, who had eſcaped after the Defeat, were come up to him, and told him that his Fleet was quite deſtroyed, but that they believed his Land-Forces remained intire. Hereupon he ſent Meſſengers to *Canidius* to march his Army through *Macedonia* into *Aſia*; and being Himſelf determined to proceed from *Tenarus* into *Africa*, he gave one of the larger Ships laden with vaſt Sums of Money, and Veſſels of Silver and Gold of an ineſtimable Price, to his Friends, deſiring them to ſhare it amongſt them, and provide for their own Safety. But They refuſing it with Tears in their Eyes, he com-

forted them with all the Goodneſs imaginable, intreating them to retire, and writ Letters in their Behalf to *Theophilus* his Steward at *Corinth*; in which he recommended it to him to provide for their Security, and keep them concealed, 'till ſuch time as they could make their Peace with *Cæſar*. This *Theophilus* was the Father of *Hipparchus*, who had ſo great Intereſt in *Anthony*, and was the Firſt of all his Freedmen that went over to *Cæſar*; he ſettled afterwards at *Corinth*. In this Poſture were *Antony*'s Affairs.

As for his Fleet, which engaged *Cæſar* before *Actium*, it made a brave Defence for a long time; 'till at laſt having ſuffered much by a ſtiff Gale which blew hard aſtern, it was forced to give way about Four in the Afternoon. There were not above five thouſand Men ſlain in the whole Action, but then *Cæſar* took three hundred of his Ships, as He Himſelf hath written. There were not Many who beheld *Antony*'s Flight, which ſeemed incredible to Thoſe who had not ſeen it with their own Eyes. They could not be brought to believe that a General who had nineteen Legions entire, and twelve thouſand Horſe, could ſo baſely deſert them, and He above all the World, who had ſo often ſeen Fortune in all her Shapes, and been ſo accuſtomed to Changes. His Soldiers, who paſſionately deſired his Arrival, ſtill fancying he would appear from ſome Part or other, gave ſuch great Teſtimonies of their generous Fidelity to his Service, that when they were thoroughly perſuaded that he was fled in Earneſt, they nevertheleſs kept themſelves in a Body ſeven Days together without liſtening to the Ambaſſadors ſent them by *Cæſar*. But at laſt, when they underſtood that *Canidius* Himſelf, who commanded them, was fled from the Camp by Night, and that the chief Officers had abandoned them, they then put themſelves into the Hands of Him who was the ſtrongeſt, and ſurrendered to the Conqueror.

After this great Succeſs *Cæſar* ſet ſail for *Athens*, and having forgiven the *Greeks*, he made a Diſtribution of the Corn that had been provided for the War, and ſtill remained,

remained, among their Cities, which were reduced to extreme Poverty; having been robbed of their Money, their Slaves, their Horſes, and all their Beaſts of Service. My great Grandfather *Nicearchus* uſed to relate, that the Inhabitants of the Cities of *Greece* having no Horſes, were compelled with Stripes to carry a certain Meaſure of Corn upon their Shoulders to the Sea-ſide, as far as *Anticyra*; but this Hardſhip did not laſt long, for when they were juſt ready for the ſecond Expedition, News came of *Antony*'s Defeat, and This ſaved *Chæronea*, for that very Moment the Commiſſaries and all the Soldiers fled, and left the Inhabitants to divide the Corn among themſelves.

When *Antony* came into *Libya*, he ſent *Cleopatra* from the Town of *Parætonium* into *Ægypt*, and betook himſelf to a melancholy Deſart, where he wandered up and down, attended only by two Companions, one of them *Ariſtocrates* the *Greek* Rhetorician, and the Other That *Lucilius* of whom mention has been made in another Place, who at the Battle of *Philippi*, in order to favour *Brutus*'s Eſcape, ſuffered himſelf to be taken, pretending that he was *Brutus*, and being afterwards ſaved by *Antony*, was ſo ſenſible of the Obligation, that he never forſook him, but remained firm to him to the very laſt.

To add to the Afflictions of *Antony*, he underſtood that He who commanded for him in *Libya*, to whoſe Care he had committed all the Troops of that Country, was gone over to *Cæſar*. This News prompted him to lay violent Hands upon himſelf, in which he was prevented by one of his Friends, and coming to *Alexandria*, he found *Cleopatra* buſied in a moſt prodigious Undertaking. Between the *Red-Sea* and the *Ægyptian* lies a ſmall Neck of Land, which ſeparates *Aſia* from *Africk*, and which, in the narroweſt Place, is not much above thirty ſix Miles over. *Cleopatra* had formed a Project of dragging her Gallies over this Neck of Land, and of ſetting them on Float in the *Red-Sea*, with all her Riches aboard, to ſeek ſome remote Country, where ſhe might live in Peace, ſecure from War and Slavery: But

the firſt Gallies which were carried over being burnt by the *Arabians* of *Petra*, and *Antony* not knowing but that the Army before *Actium* ſtood yet firm, ſhe deſiſted from her Enterpriſe, and gave Orders for the fortifying all the Avenues of her Kingdom. But *Antony* leaving the City and the Converſation of his Friends, built him a Houſe near the *Pharos*, upon a little Mount which he had caſt up in the Sea, and there ſecluding himſelf from the Company of Mankind, he reſolved to imitate the Life of *Timon*, becauſe he had received the ſame hard Uſage; for like Him, he met with nothing but Ingratitude and Injuries from Thoſe who had the higheſt Obligations to him, for which reaſon he was reſolved to hate and miſtruſt all Mankind.

This *Timon* was a Citizen of *Athens*, and lived in the Time of the *Peloponneſian* War, as may be ſeen by the Comedies of *Ariſtophanes* and *Plato*, in which he is laſhed as the Hater and Enemy of Mankind: This Man avoided and deſpiſed the Converſe of every Mortal, only he courted the Friendſhip of *Alcibiades*, who was at that time very young, but of a bold enterpriſing Temper. *Apemantus* was aſtoniſhed at this Preference and Diſtinction, and demanding the Reaſon, *Oh*, ſays *Timon*, *you cannot imagine what Miſchief this young Man will one day do the* Athenians. He never admitted any one into his Company but this *Apemantus*, who was much of the ſame Humour, and a zealous Imitator of his Way of Life. One Day at the Celebration of the Feſtival called *Choes*, They Two were eating together, and *Apemantus* ſaying to him, *Oh* Timon, *this is a pleaſant Feaſt: It would be ſo indeed*, anſwered he, *if Thou wert away*.

It is farther ſaid of him, that another Day in a full Aſſembly he mounted the Tribunal, when the Novelty of the Thing created a general Silence and Attention, whilſt he addreſſed himſelf to the People in the following manner. *Ye Men of* Athens, *in a Court-yard belonging to my Houſe grows a large Fig-tree, on which many an honeſt Citizen has been pleaſed to hang himſelf. Now as I have Thoughts of building on that Spot, I could not omit giving*

*giving You this publick Notice, to the End that if any more among You have a mind to make the same Use of my Tree they may do it speedily before it is destroyed.* After his Death he was buried near *Hales* on the Sea-Coast. The Earth happening to give way round his Monument the Water broke in, and made it inaccessible. The following Inscription was engraven on it.

*The Wretch's Heart who here doth lie*
*Did burst with Grief and Misery.*
*Ask him not his Name to tell,*
*But God confound ye all, farewel.*

This Epitaph was said to be made by Himself in his Life-time. That which was more generally known was made by *Callimachus*.

*Here* Timon *the Man-hater lies; begon:*
*Curse, Mortal, curse again, but then march on.*

Thus much of *Timon*, of whom much more might be said. *Canidius* Himself brought *Antony* word of the Loss of his Army near *Actium*; at the same time he was informed by other Hands, that *Herod* of *Judæa*, who had under his Command some Cohorts and Legions, had declared for *Cæsar*; that the other Kings and Princes had done the same, and that in a Word One and All, except Those who were near his Person, had deserted him. All This could not in the least move him, but quitting all Hope that he might be rid of all Care, he left his Habitation by the Sea-side which he called his *Timonium*. *Cleopatra* received him into her Palace, where he was no sooner arrived, but he plunged the whole City in Entertainments, Debauches, and all sorts of expensive Extravagances, upon the Occasion of registering *Cleopatra*'s Son by *Cæsar* among the young Men; at the same time he gave *Antyllus*, his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, the virile Gown, which was a long Robe without the Purple Border. On Account of these Ceremonies the whole

City of *Alexandria* abounded in Shews, Balls, Festival Banquets, Masquerades, and all manner of Merriment. As for Themselves, they dissolved the Order of the *inimitable Livers*, and constituted Another in its Place nothing inferior to the Former in Splendor and Luxury, and called it the *Synapothanumenes*, or *Diers together*. Their Friends entered into this Order, and passed away their Time in all Manner of Pleasures, treating one another by Turns. Notwithstanding This, *Cleopatra* was curious in making a Collection of all manner of poisonous Drugs, and being desirous to know which of them were the least painful in the Operation, she ordered them to be tried upon Such as were condemn'd to die; but finding that those Poisons which had a quick Effect caused sharp Pains and great Convulsions, and that the milder were very long a working, she set herself upon the Examination of venomous Creatures, and caused different Sorts to be applied to different Persons in her Presence. This was her daily Practice, and at last she found that nothing was comparable to the Bite of the Asp, which, without the least Convulsion or Groaning, caused a great Heaviness in the Head and Desire to Sleep, which was attended with a gentle Sweat on the Face, and a Stupefaction of all the Senses; so that They who were thus affected, seemed sensible of no Pain, but rather troubled to be disturbed or awakened, like those who are in a profound natural Sleep. They Both sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* in *Asia*; *Cleopatra* petitioned for the Kingdom of *Ægypt* in Favour of her Children; and *Antony*, that he might have leave to live a private Man in *Ægypt*, and if That were thought too much, that he might retire to *Athens*. But forasmuch as most of their Friends had forsaken them, so that Few remained in Whom they could confide, they were forced to employ *Euphronius*, their Childrens Tutor, in that Embassy. For *Alexas* of *Laodicea*, who by the Recommendation of *Timagenes* came acquainted with *Antony* at *Rome*, and had the greatest Power over him of any of the *Græcians*, and was the most successful of all the Instruments *Cleopatra* made use

of

of for disposing *Antony* upon all Occasions to her Purpose, and for making him break the Resolutions he sometimes took of recalling *Octavia*, even This *Alexas* had been sent to *Herod* by *Antony*, to keep that Prince steady in his Interest. But instead of That he betrayed his Master, continued in his Court, and had the Impudence to present himself to *Cæsar*, thinking his Person safe under *Herod*'s Protection; which however proved of no Service to him, for *Cæsar* immediately flung him into Prison, and a few days after sent him loaden with Chains into his own Country, where he ordered him to be put to death; so that *Antony* had at least before he died the Satisfaction of seeing *Alexas* punished for his Infidelity to Him.

*Cæsar* rejected *Antony*'s Petition, and returned no other Answer to *Cleopatra*, but that there was nothing in Reason She might not expect from him, provided she put *Antony* to Death, or banished him out of her Dominions. At the same time he sent to her one of his own Freedmen named *Thyreus*, a Man of no ordinary Parts, and not unlikely to succeed, coming from an Emperor in his Youth to a vain Woman easily puft up with her own Praises, and putting too great a Confidence in her Beauty. This Man receiving Audiences longer, and more frequent than ordinary, and being honoured with peculiar Marks of Distinction, made *Antony* jealous; so that he ordered him first to be whipped, and then sent back to *Cæsar*, with Letters signifying, *that his insolent Carriage had provoked him at a time when his Calamities made him too prone to Anger, and when it was not to be expected that he could be a perfect Master of his Passions. And You Yourself*, added he, *if You are provoked at his Usage of Your Servant, You have in Your Power* Hipparchus, *One of Mine; whom You may use in the same Manner if you please, and then we shall be upon even Terms.*

From this Moment *Cleopatra*, that she might make some Atonement for her own Indiscretion, and allay his Jealousy, made all the Submission imaginable.

When

When Her Birth-day came, she kept it as was suitable to their deplorable Fortune; but His was observed with great Splendor and Magnificence, so that many of the Guests sat down in great want, and went home wealthy Men. After the Defeat of *Antony*, *Agrippa* writ many Letters to *Cæsar*, to let him know how necessary his Presence was at *Rome*; for which Reason the War was deferred for a Season, but the Winter being over, he began his March; He Himself by the Way of *Syria*, and his Lieutenants through *Africa*. *Pelusium* being taken, there went a Report as if that Town had been delivered to *Cæsar* by *Seleucus* not without the consent of *Cleopatra*, but She to justify herself gave up into *Antony*'s Hands the Wife and Children of *Seleucus*. She had caused to be built, joining to the Temple of *Isis*, several Tombs and Monuments of a stupendious height, and very considerable for the Workmanship. Thither she removed her Treasure, her Gold, Silver, Emeralds, Pearls, Ebony, Ivory, Cinnamon, to all which she added prodigious Quantities of Flax, and Torches. This put *Cæsar* in great Pain for the sake of that immense Wealth, and made him afraid lest in a desperate Fit she should set fire to it all, and consume it. For this reason he was daily sending Messengers to her, who were to feed her up with Hopes of a gentle and honourable Treatment; in the mean time he hastened to the City by long Marches.

Upon his Arrival he encamped near the *Hippodrome*, and *Antony* making a fierce Sally, routed the Horse, and beat them back into their Trenches, and so returned with great Satisfaction to the Palace. There meeting *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, he kiss'd her, and recommended to her Favour a brave Soldier, who had signalized himself in that day's Action. She in recompence presented him with a Cuiras and Helmet all of Gold which he having received, went that very Night and rendered himself to *Cæsar*. After This *Antony* sent a Challenge to *Cæsar* to Fight him Hand to Hand, and received for Answer, *That he might find several other*

*way*

*ways to end his Life.* Whereupon conſidering with himſelf, that he could not die more honourably than in Battle, he reſolved to attack *Cæſar* both by Sea and Land. It is ſaid that That Night at Supper he commanded his Purveyers *to entertain him in the beſt manner they could, and fill his Wine plentifully, becauſe it was uncertain if it would be in their Power to render the ſame Office to him to-morrow; They might become Servants to a new Maſter, and He lie extended on the Earth, a uſeleſs Corps, a very Nothing.* His Friends who were about him, wept to hear him talk in this manner; which he perceiving, told them, he ſhould not lead them out to Fight with greater Expectation of an honourable Death, than of a glorious Victory. At the dead of Night, when the whole City was in a deep Silence and Conſternation, expecting the Event of the next Day, on a ſudden was heard the ſound of all manner of Inſtruments, and a horrible Noiſe, like to That which is made at the Feaſts of *Bacchus*; this tumultuous Proceſſion ſeemed to have broken in at one Gate of the City, to have quite traverſed it, and have gone out at the Gate which the Enemy lay before; and This ſignified, to Such as pretended to underſtand Prodigies, that *Bacchus*, the God whom he had always a particular Inclination for, and whom he ſtudied to imitate, had now forſaken him. As ſoon as it was Light, he marched his Foot out of the City, and poſted them upon a riſing Ground, from whence he ſaw his Fleet make up to the Enemy. There he ſtood in Expectation of the Event; but as ſoon as ever the Fleets came nigh to one another, His firſt ſaluted *Cæſar*'s, which having returned the Compliment, they preſently joined, and with all their force rowed up towards the City: *Antony* had no ſooner ſeen This, but the Horſe deſerted him in like manner, and rendered themſelves to *Cæſar*; and his Foot being defeated, he retired into the City, crying out, *That* Cleopatra *had betrayed him, when he was fighting only for her ſake.* She being afraid leſt in his Fury and Deſpair he might do her a Miſchief, fled to her Monument, and ſecuring it as faſt as ſhe could with Bars and Bolts, ſhe ſent to

make

make *Antony* believe ſhe was dead. He taking it for granted, cried out, *Now* Antony, *what haſt Thou to do in this World? Fate has ſnatched away the only Cauſe for which thou cou'dſt endure to live.* Going into his Chamber, and opening his Coat of Armour, *I am not* (ſays he) *troubled, O* Cleopatra, *to be at preſent bereaved of thee, for I ſhall ſoon be with thee; but This does much afflict me, that I,* Antony, *ſo famous a General, ſhould be inferior in greatneſs of Mind to a Woman.* He had at that time attending him a faithful Servant, whoſe Name was *Eros.* He had engaged him formerly to kill him when he ſhould think it neceſſary, and now he put him to his Promiſe; *Eros* drew his Sword, as deſigning to kill Him, but when his Back was turned he ſlew Himſelf; and falling dead at his Feet, *Well haſt thou done, my* Eros, ſaid *Antony, ſince thou hadſt not the Heart to diſpatch thy Maſter, thou haſt taught him what he ought to do, and inſtructed him by Thy own Example.* When he had ſo ſaid he plunged his Sword into his own Bowels, and flung himſelf upon a Couch that ſtood near him. However the Wound was not ſo deſperate as to cauſe an immediate Death, and the Blood ſtopping a little as he lay upon the Couch, he came by degrees to Himſelf, and intreated Thoſe who were near him, to put him out of his Pain; but they all fled out of the Chamber, and left him bewailing and tormenting himſelf, 'till *Diomedes,* Secretary to *Cleopatra,* came to him, having been commanded by his Miſtreſs to bring him to Her in the Monument. When he underſtood ſhe was ſtill alive, he commanded his Servants with a great deal of Ardor to take him up, and they bore him in their Arms to the Door of the Monument: *Cleopatra* would not open the Door, but looking from a Window, ſhe let down Cords, to which *Antony* was faſtened, and She and her two Women, who were All that were ſuffered to enter the Monument, drew him up. They who were preſent ſaid nothing could be more moving than that Spectacle. *Antony* all covered with Blood, and juſt expiring, was hoiſted up, and ſtretched out his dying Hands to *Cleopatra,* at the ſame time raiſing his Body,

as

as much as the little Strength that was left him would allow of, in aid to the Women, who found what they were about a Work of no ſmall Difficulty to accompliſh, *Cleopatra* Herſelf with her Hands and Face upon the utmoſt ſtretch tugging hard, and impatient once more to embrace her beloved *Antony*. They who ſtood below bore a Share with her in all her Sufferings, gave her all the Aſſiſtance they were able, and with loud Huzzas encouraged her. When ſhe had got him up, ſhe laid him on a Bed, rent her Cloaths, which ſhe ſpread upon him, ſmote her Breaſts, and wiping the Blood from off his Face, ſhe called him *her Lord, her Husband, her Emperor*, and ſeemed to have forgot her Own miſerable Condition, ſo intent was ſhe upon His Misfortunes. *Antony* comforted her as well as he could, and called for Wine to drink, either that he was thirſty, or that he imagined it might put him the ſooner out of Pain; when he had drank, he adviſed her to take her own Affairs into conſideration, and as far as it would conſiſt with her Reputation, to compoſe them; and that among all the Friends of *Cæſar*, ſhe ſhould apply herſelf to *Proculeius*; *that ſhe ſhould not pity Him in this late turn of Fate, but rather rejoice in remembrance of his paſt Happineſs, who had been of all Men that ever lived the moſt illuſtrious and powerful, and in the end had bravely fought like a* Roman, *and been by a* Roman *overcome*. He was juſt expiring when *Proculeius* arrived from *Cæſar*; for when *Antony* had given himſelf his Death's Wound, and was carried to *Cleopatra*, *Decretæus*, one of his Guards, took up his Sword, and hid it; and when he ſaw his Opportunity, ſtole away to *Cæſar* with the firſt News of *Antony*'s Death, and withal ſhewed him the bloody Sword in Confirmation of it. *Cæſar* upon this News retired into his Cloſet, and payed ſome Tears to the Memory of One who had been his Kinſman, Partner, and faithful Companion in ſo many Wars and Dangers. At laſt, taking with him the Letters he had wrote to *Antony*, and the Anſwers he had received from him, he called his Friends together, and read to them both the One, and the Other, to ſhew them

them with how much Reaſon and Moderation he had always treated *Antony*, and in return what fierce and arrogant Anſwers he had received from him. After This he ſent *Proculeius* to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his Power; for he was afraid of loſing a great Treaſure; and beſides, ſhe would be no ſmall Addition to the Ornaments of his Triumph; but ſhe refuſed to confer with him, any otherwiſe than from within her Monument, He ſtanding on the outſide of the Gate, which was ſtrongly barr'd, but there being ſome Crevices in it they could hear each other very diſtinctly. Her Demand was, that her Kingdom might be diſpoſed to her Children; and He inſiſted, that ſhe ſhould be of good Courage, and leave intirely to *Cæſar* the Conſideration of her Affairs. When he had taken particular Notice, and thoroughly obſerved the Place, he returned and made his Report to *Cæſar*, who ſent *Gallus* to confer with her a ſecond time. *Gallus* coming up to the Gate, ſpoke to her through the Chinks, as *Proculeius* had done, and contrived to lengthen out the Conference as much as he could. In the mean time *Proculeius* having fixed his ſcaling Ladders to the Wall, entered in at that Window, through which the Women had pulled up *Antony*, and being followed by two Servants he went ſtraight down to the Door where *Cleopatra* was diſcourſing with *Gallus*. One of the Women who was ſhut up in the Monument with her, was heard to cry out, *Oh wretched* Cleopatra! *thou art taken!* upon This ſhe turned quick about, and ſpying *Proculeius*, ſhe attempted to ſtab herſelf with a Dagger, which hung always at her Girdle. But *Proculeius* running up to her, and ſeizing her with both his Hands, *For ſhame* (ſaid he) Cleopatra, *you wrong both yourſelf and* Cæſar, *whom you would rob of ſo fair an occaſion of ſhewing his Clemency, and make Him, the moſt courteous and compaſſionate Man in the World, be thought a Perſon implacable, and not to be truſted.* At the ſame time he forced the Dagger from her, and examined her Robe for fear of any Poiſon that might be hid therein. After This, *Cæſar* ſent *Epaphroditus*, one of his Servants, with Order to

treat

treat her with all the gentleneſs and civility imaginable, but withal to be very intent that he left her no Opportunity of making herſelf away.

In the mean-while *Cæſar* made his Entry into *Alexandria*, with *Areius* the Philoſopher by his ſide, holding him by the Hand and talking with him, that he might be more valued and eſteemed by his Fellow-Citizens, when they obſerved how much he was valued and eſteemed by *Cæſar*. When he was come into the Place where they performed their publick Exerciſes he mounted a Tribunal, which had been prepared for that Purpoſe; from whence he commanded the Citizens, who in great Fear and Conſternation lay proſtrate at his Feet, to ſtand up, and told them, *That he forgave all the People of* Alexandria: *Firſt, for the ſake of* Alexander, *their Founder*; *Secondly, for the ſake of the City itſelf, the largeſt and moſt beautiful in the World*; *and Thirdly, to gratify his Friend* Areius. Theſe Honours did *Cæſar* confer upon *Areius*, who not ſatisfied with ſuch diſtinguiſhing Favours interceded in behalf of ſeveral Others, among whom was *Philoſtratus*, a Man of all the Profeſſors of Eloquence the moſt ready and fam'd, for his extemporary Speeches, but He having pretended without any Grounds to be of the Academy, and his Morals being deteſted by *Cæſar*, he rejected the Petition preferred to him by *Areius* in his Favour. Notwithſtanding This, *Philoſtratus* ſuffering his white Beard to grow, and wrapping himſelf up in a mourning Cloke, was always at *Areius*'s Heels repeating a Verſe in *Greek*, ſignifying *The Wiſe ſave the Wiſe, if they are Wiſe indeed*. *Cæſar* when he heard of it gave him his Pardon, rather to ſkreen *Areius* from any Ill-will he might contract on his Account, than in Conſideration of *Philoſtratus*. Of *Antony*'s Children, *Antyllus* his eldeſt by *Fulvia*, being betrayed by his Tutor *Theodorus*, was put to Death. While the Soldiers were murdering him, his Tutor contrived to ſteal a precious Jewel which he wore about his Neck, and quilted it in his Girdle: He was charged with it, and denied the Fact; but the Jewel being found upon him, they convicted and hanged him. As

for *Cleopatra*'s Children, *Cæſar* thought it ſufficient to clap a Guard upon Them, their Governors, and as many Officers and Servants, as were neceſſary to attend them, allowing them very honourably for their Maintenance. *Cæſario*, who is reported to have been the Son of *Cæſar* the Dictator, was ſent by his Mother with a great Sum of Money through *Æthiopia* into *India*; but his Governor named *Rhodon*, being juſt as honeſt as *Theodorus*, perſuaded him to turn back, inſinuating that *Cæſar* deſigned to make him a King. *Cæſar* conſulting what was beſt to be done with him, it is reported of *Areius* that he ſhould ſay, *a Plurality of* Cæſars *is not good*, ſo that he was diſpatched ſoon after the Death of *Cleopatra*. Many Kings and great Commanders made Petition to *Cæſar* for the Body of *Antony*, to give him his Funeral Rites, but he would not diſpoſe of his Corps from *Cleopatra*, who buried him with her own Hands with all Splendor and Magnificence, it being allowed to her to employ what ſhe pleaſed in his Funeral. The Exceſs of her Affliction, and the Pain ſhe felt in her Breaſt, which became inflamed and ulcerated from the Blows ſhe gave it in the Tranſports of her Sorrow, flung her into a high Fever, which ſhe thought gave her a juſt excuſe to abſtain from Food, and ſhe hoped by Faſting to put an End to a Life, which was ſo extremely burdenſom to her. The Phyſician in whom ſhe chiefly confided was *Olympus*, to whom ſhe communicated this Deſign, and made uſe of his Advice; As He Himſelf tells us in the ſhort Account he has left of thoſe Tranſactions. But *Cæſar* ſuſpecting her Deſign, threatned to uſe her Children ill, which was the only Battery capable of forcing her high Spirit, ſo that ſhe ſuffered any one to give her what Meat and Phyſick they pleaſed.

A few days after *Cæſar* Himſelf came to make her a Viſit, and to comfort her. She was then lying on a Couch in a poor, negligent, forlorn Condition. As ſoon as He entered, tho' She had nothing on but a thin Tunick, She aroſe, and flung herſelf at his Feet, being horribly disfigured, her Hair in Diſorder, her Viſage wild and bloody, her Voice trembling, her Eyes almoſt

ſunk

ſunk in her Head with weeping, and her Boſom all over Wounds and Contuſions. In a word, it was very viſible that her Body was in as deplorable a Condition as was her Mind. And yet notwithſtanding all This, that Air which was natural and peculiar to her, that lively Mien, which her Beauty inſpired, were not quite extinguiſhed, and in ſpite of thoſe lamentable Circumſtances to which ſhe was reduced, even from the bottom of that State of Humiliation, ſome Sparks like Rays broke forth, and appeared in every graceful Motion.

After *Cæſar* had obliged her to return to her Couch, and had placed Himſelf by her, She endeavoured to juſtify herſelf from the Neceſſity She was under, and her Fear of *Antony*. But *Cæſar* ſtopping her ſhort, and confuting her in every Article, ſhe then turned her Diſcourſe, and made uſe of Prayers and Intreaties to move his Compaſſion, as if ſhe deſired nothing more than to prolong her Life, and at the ſame time put into his Hands a Liſt of all her Treaſure. As *Seleucus*, one of her Treaſurers, who was then preſent, reproached her for her Inſincerity, and accuſed her of ſuppreſſing many things of Value, ſhe fell into a Paſſion, and flying from her Couch, caught him by the Hair, and ſtruck him ſeveral Blows on the Face. *Cæſar* could not but ſmile at this ſudden Tranſport, and endeavouring to pacify her, *Is it not very hard*, Cæſar, (ſaid ſhe) *when you do me the Honour of a Viſit in this my wretched Condition, that I ſhould be affronted by my own Servants? If I have laid by any Womens Toys, they never were deſigned Ornaments for one of my miſerable Fortune, but that I might have ſome little Preſent by me, to make to* Octavia *your Siſter, and your Conſort* Livia, *that by Their Interceſſion I might hope to find you in ſome meaſure diſpoſed to Mercy.* *Cæſar* was pleaſed to hear her talk at this rate, being now perſuaded that ſhe was deſirous to live; and he therefore aſſured her, that the things ſhe had laid by ſhe might diſpoſe of as ſhe pleaſed, and his Uſage of her ſhould be honourable above her Expectation; and ſo he went away well ſatisfied that he had over-reach'd Her, but he was Himſelf deceived. There was among

*Cæſar*'s Favourites a young Man named *Cornelius Dolabella*, deſcended from one of the Nobleſt Families in *Rome*. This Gentleman had been captivated by *Cleopatra*'s Charms, and as ſhe had engaged him to adverti ſe her from time to time of every thing that was in Agitation, he ſent her Notice privately, that *Cæſar* was about to return into *Syria*, and that She and her Children were to be ſent before within three Days. When ſhe underſtood This, ſhe made her Requeſt to *Cæſar*, that he would be pleaſed to permit her to make her laſt Oblations to the departed *Antony*, which being granted, ſhe ordered herſelf to be carried to the Place where he was buried, and upon her Knees, accompanied by her Women, ſhe embraced his Tomb with Tears in her Eyes, and ſpake in this Manner, *My deareſt* Antony, (ſaid ſhe) *it is not long ſince with theſe Hands I buried thee, then they were free, now am I a miſerable Captive, and pay theſe laſt Duties to thee, with a Guard upon me, for fear my juſt Griefs and Sorrows ſhould impair my ſervile Body, and make me leſs fit to appear in their Triumphs over thee. No further Offerings and Sacrifice expect from me, theſe are the laſt Honours that* Cleopatra *e'er can pay thy Memory, for ſhe is to be hurried away, far from thee. Nothing could part us whilſt we lived; but Death now threatens to divide us for ever. Thou a* Roman *born lieſt buried here in* Ægypt, *and I an* Ægyptian *am to be carried and interred in* Italy; *and it will be ſome Pleaſure to me to have my Bones depoſited in the Country, which gave Thee Birth. But if the Gods of thy Country, with whom thou now art, either can or will do any thing, (for our Gods have forſaken us) ſuffer them not to leave me whilſt I yet have Life; let me not be led in Triumph to thy Shame, but have a little Room in thy Grave, for amongſt all my bitter Misfortunes nothing has preſt my Soul ſo hard as even this ſhort ſpace of time I have lived without thee.*

Having made theſe Lamentions, crowning the Tomb with Garlands of Flowers, and kiſſing it, ſhe gave Orders to have her Bath prepared. After ſhe had bathed ſhe ſat down to Supper, and fed very ſumptuouſly.

When

When Supper was over, a Country-Fellow brought her a little Baſket, which the Guards intercepting, and aſking what it was, the Fellow put the Leaves which lay uppermoſt aſide, and ſhewed them it was full of Figs, and they admiring their Largeneſs and Beauty were invited to take of them, which they refuſed, and ſuſpecting nothing bid him carry them in: Then *Cleopatra* ſent a Letter to *Cæſar*, and putting every Body out of the Monument, but her two Women, ſhe faſtened the Doors: *Cæſar* opening her Letter, and finding therein ſuch earneſt Requeſts that ſhe might be buried in the ſame Tomb with *Antony*, ſoon gueſt what ſhe was doing; once he was going himſelf in all haſte, but changing his Mind, he ſent Others to ſee how Affairs ſtood. Her Death was ſo ſudden, that They who were ſent by *Cæſar* ſurpriſed the Guards with their Apprehenſions, and breaking open the Doors found her ſtone-dead, lying upon her Bed of Gold, ſet out in all her Royal Ornaments. *Iras*, one of her Women, lay dead at her Feet, and *Charmion* juſt ready to tumble, ſcarce able to hold up her own Head, was adjuſting her Miſtreſs's Diadem, which was out of Order; and when one of Thoſe who came in ſaid, *Was This well done of your Lady*, Charmion? *Extremely well*, ſhe anſwered, *and becoming ſo great a Queen*. She had no ſooner ſaid This but ſhe fell down dead by the Bed-ſide. Some relate, that an Aſp was brought in amongſt thoſe Figs, and covered with Leaves, and that *Cleopatra* had order'd it ſo, that ſhe might be bit without ſeeing it; and that, in taking up the Leaves, ſhe ſhould ſay, holding out her Arm to it, *Art thou there?* Others ſay, that it was kept in a Glaſs, and that ſhe vexed and pricked it with a golden Spindle; but no one knew the Certainty; for they reported alſo, that ſhe carried Poiſon in a golden Bodkin, which ſhe wore in her Heir; but there was not ſo much as a Spot, or any Suſpicion of Poiſon upon her Body, nor was any living Creature found within the Monument, but a certain Track of a creeping Creature imagined to be ſeen on the Window ſide upon the Sand nigh the Sea. Others ſay *Cleopatra* had two marks in

her Arm, imprinted very ſmall by the Sting of the Aſp, to which *Cæſar* ſeemed to have given Credit, for *Cleopatra*'s Statue was carried in Triumph with an Aſp fixed to her Arm. With ſuch Uncertainties are theſe Things related. Although *Cæſar* was very much diſappointed by her Death, yet he could not but admire the Greatneſs of her Mind, and granted that her Body ſhould be buried by *Antony*, with all the Ceremony and Magnificence which was due unto her Quality. Her Women alſo were buried in great Splendor. *Cleopatra* died in the Nine and Thirtieth Year of her Age, of which ſhe had reigned Twenty Two; the Fourteen laſt Years jointly with *Antony*: *Antony* died at the Age of Fifty Three, Some ſay Fifty Six. The Statues of *Antony* were all demoliſhed, but Thoſe of *Cleopatra* remained untouched; for *Archibius* her Friend had given *Cæſar* a thouſand Talents on Condition that they ſhould not run the ſame Fate with *Antony*'s. *Antony* left by his Three Wives ſeven Children, of which *Antyllus* the eldeſt only was put to Death; *Octavia* took the reſt, and bred them with her Own. *Cleopatra*, his Daughter by *Cleopatra*, was married to King *Juba*, the moſt polite and comely Prince of that Age; ſhe made *Antony*, his Son by *Fulvia*, ſo conſiderable and powerful, that whereas *Agrippa* was the chief Favourite of *Cæſar*, and the Sons of *Livia* held the ſecond Rank, the third Place without any Diſpute was reckoned to be poſſeſt by Him. *Octavia* having alſo had by her firſt Huſband *Marcellus*, two Daughters, and one Son named *Marcellus*, *Cæſar* gave unto Him his Daughter in Marriage, and by that Means adopted him; and *Octavia* gave one of her Daughters in Marriage to *Agrippa*; but *Marcellus* dying ſoon after his Marriage, and She perceiving that her Brother was not eaſy to determine Whom to chooſe for his Son-in-law, was the Firſt to perſuade him to give his Daughter *Julia* to *Agrippa*, though in ſo doing he was to quit Her Daughter: *Cæſar* agreed to this Propoſal, and married *Julia* to *Agrippa*; and She receiving her Daughter back married her to *Antony*. Of the two Daughters which ſhe had by *Antony*, One of them was married to *Domitius Ænobarbus*, and

and the Other, *Antonia*, famous for her Beauty and Discretion, was married to *Drusus* the Son of *Livia*, and Son-in-law to *Cæsar*. Of this Line came *Germanicus* and *Claudius*. *Claudius* came to be Emperor, as did *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus*, who after he had reigned a short time with the greatest Insolence as well as Infamy, was slain with his Wife *Cesonia*, and his Daughter *Agrippina*, who had *Lucius Domitius* by *Ænobarbus*, was afterward married to *Claudius Cæsar*. He adopted *Domitius*, whom he named *Nero Germanicus*. He was Emperor in our time, and put his Mother to death, and with his Madness and Folly failed little of ruining the *Roman* Empire. He was in the Fifth Degree from *Antony*.

## *The Comparison of* Demetrius *with* Antony.

FOrasmuch as these two Persons are most remarkable Instances of the Vicissitude of Fortune, let us first consider that Power and Dignity, wherein they Both were once placed. It is certain that the Power of *Demetrius* was prepared for him, and got ready to his Hand by his Father *Antigonus*, the most Potent among all the Successors of *Alexander*, who even in His Infancy had over-run and reduced the best Part of *Asia*. Whereas *Antony*, who had to his Father an honest Man indeed, and in all other Respects a worthy *Roman*; but being a Person of no Fame or Experience in Military Affairs, his Son could inherit from Him no Power, no Means of advancing himself; notwithstanding which he had the Courage to aim at, and the Honour to obtain the Empire of the first *Cæsar*, an Empire to which his Birth gave him no manner of Pretension; but turning His Labours and His Conquests to his own Advantage, by the Dint of his own Industry he made himself His Successor, and without any Aid, but what was purely owing to Himself, soared to such a Pitch, that when the whole *Roman* Empire came to be divided into two Shares,

He

He laid claim to the moſt valuable; defeated the *Parthians* even in his Abſence by his Lieutenants, and drove the *Barbarians* inhabiting about Mount *Caucaſus* as far backwards as to the *Caſpian* Sea. Even thoſe Particulars which turn moſt to his Diſgrace and Infamy, are authentick Teſtimonies of his Grandeur. *Antigonus* conceived it a great Point gained to have his Son marry *Phillа* the Daughter of *Antipater*, tho' ſhe was of an Age very unſuitable to His, whereas on the contrary *Antony* was thought to have undervalued himſelf in marrying *Cleopatra*, a Queen, who in Birth, Riches, and Magnificence, ſurpaſſed all the Princes of her Age, except the great *Arſaces*. In a word, he had raiſed himſelf to ſuch a Degree, that all the World thought him worthier of a higher Fortune than even That, to which he aſpired.

If we examine into the Views of Both, and the Means they made uſe of to obtain the Empire, we ſhall find *Demetrius* clear of all Imputation. He ruled over People accuſtomed to obey, over Nations fond of Kingly Government; whereas *Antony* is deſervedly taxed with the higheſt Injuſtice and Tyranny, in ſubjecting the *Romans*, who had juſt redeemed themſelves from Monarchy by the Death of *Cæſar*.

The greateſt and moſt illuſtrious of all *Antony*'s Exploits, was the War he undertook againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, on purpoſe to enthral his Fellow-Citizens; whereas *Demetrius*, 'till his laſt Calamities came upon him, daily laboured for the Liberty of *Greece*, by clearing the Cities of the Garriſons which held them in Subjection. How different in This from *Antony*, who prided himſelf for having deſtroyed in *Macedonia* thoſe Patriots, who had reſtored *Rome* to her Liberty!

There is one thing for which *Antony* was highly celebrated, his Liberality and Magnificence in his Donations, and yet even in This *Demetrius* has ſo much the Advantage, that He beſtowed more on his Enemies than *Antony* ever conferred on his Friends. *Antony* was much cried up and eſteemed, for having ordered *Brutus* to be honourably interred; but *Demetrius* cauſed all His

Enemies

Enemies that fell in the Battle to be buried, and ſent back his Priſoners laden with Preſents to *Ptolemy*.

They both made an inſolent Uſe of their good Fortune, and plunged themſelves into Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs. Bet no Man can ſay that *Demetrius* ever ſlipt the Opportunity of performing a brave and gallant Action, for the ſake of his Pleaſures. He never had recourſe to Debauch, but when his Time lay heavy upon his hands; then indeed he indulged himſelf with his Miſtreſs *Lamia*, who, like the imaginary *Lamia* in the Fable, ſerved to lull him aſleep. But when the Trumpet ſounded to War, His Lance was not encircled with Ivy, His Caſque ſmelt not of Eſſence or Perfumes, nor did he come ſleek and effeminate out of the Chambers of Wantonneſs to march to Battle; but leaving behind him all the Bacchanalian Trumpery, all Sentiments of Weakneſs and Effeminacy, he in an Inſtant became *the Diſciple of* Mars *the Homicide*, to make uſe of the Expreſſion of *Euripides*, without ever ſuffering his Pleaſures or Amuſements in the leaſt to interfere with his more weighty Concerns, or interrupt the Proſecution of his Deſigns. This cannot be ſaid of *Antony*, for as we ſee in the Paintings, *Ompbale* ſtealing away the Club of *Hercules*, and ſtripping him of his Lion's Skin, ſo did *Cleopatra* often ſtrip *Antony* of his Armour, and melting him with her Careſſes, ſhe made him ſuffer many important Occaſions to ſlip out of his Hands, and give over the Proſecution of ſome glorious Expedition, to go and ſport with Her upon the Banks of *Canopus*, or *Tapboſiris*. In ſhort, like another *Paris*, he withdrew out of the Battle, and flung himſelf into Her Arms, or rather more effeminate even than *Paris*, who never withdrew into his Chamber, 'till he had tried his Fortune in the Field, and was overthrown; whereas *Antony*, rather than not be conſtantly dangling after *Cleopatra*, choſe to fly from, and abandon Victory.

To This may be added that *Demetrius* married ſeveral Women, in which however he was not prohibited by the Laws of his Country, but authoriſed by the practice of the Kings of *Macedon*, Deſcendants from *Alexander*; he

he did no more therein than follow the Examples of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolemy*, and to as many as he had married he behaved himſelf with Honour; whereas *Antony* in the firſt Place had two Wives at the ſame time, which 'till then had been a thing unheard of among the *Romans*; and then to make it ſtill the more enormous, he drove from his Bed the *Roman* Lady, Her to whom he was lawfully married, to give himſelf wholly up to a Stranger, the fatal Object of a lawleſs diſhonourable Paſſion. From hence it followed, that none of *Demetrius*'s Nuptials were attended with any Misfortunes, whereas the Calamities that iſſued from *Antony*'s were infinite.

It muſt be confeſſed, that no Impiety is to be found in any of *Antony*'s Actions, equal to That into which *Demetrius* plunged himſelf in the Heat of his Debauches. We learn from Hiſtory, that the *Athenians* never ſuffered a Dog to enter into the Citadel, becauſe that impure Animal is notorious for lining the Female in the Eye of the World; and yet in the moſt venerable Receſſes of this Citadel, in the very Temple of *Minerva*, did *Demetrius* revel with his Proſtitutes; in that holy Place did He defile Many of the *Athenian* Matrons. And even Cruelty, a Vice generally thought inconſiſtent with Wantonneſs and Effeminacy, was an Attendant on *Demetrius*'s Laſciviouſneſs; for he not only diſdained to hinder, but was the very Cauſe of the Death of one of the moſt beautiful and virtuous Youths in *Athens*, who choſe rather to die than be diſhonoured by him. To ſum up all in a Word, *Antony* prejudiced Himſelf only with his Intemperance; and That of *Demetrius*, at the ſame time, that it was prejudicial to Himſelf, it was ſo likewiſe to Others.

On the other hand, *Demetrius*'s Carriage towards his Parents and Relations was always conſiſtent with his Duty; whereas *Antony* ſacrificed his Mother's own Brother, that he might thereby purchaſe the Death of *Cicero*; an Action ſo inhuman, and execrable, that he would

would hardly have been excuſed, even tho' *Cicero*'s Life had been forfeited to redeem his Uncle.

Both the One and the Other were guilty of Falſhood and Perjury, the One in making *Artabazus* Priſoner, and the Other in killing *Alexander*. It may be ſaid in behalf of *Antony*, that He had been abandoned by *Artabazus* in *Media*, and betrayed to the Enemy; Whereas it is generally ſaid, that *Demetrius* was forced to charge *Alexander* with pretended Crimes, to juſtify the Murder by calumniating the Innocent, and revenged himſelf not on the Perſon who had injured Him, but on Him whom He had injured.

On the other ſide, the Achievements and Victories of *Demetrius* were all the Work of his own Hands, of which the very contrary is to be ſaid of *Antony*; for the moſt important of his Victories were gained by his Lieutenants in his Abſence. They Both owed their Ruin to Themſelves, but in a different manner, One by being deſerted, for the *Macedonians* forſook Him; and the Other in deſerting firſt, for he fled and deſerted Thoſe who were fighting His Quarrel, and expoſing their Lives for His Sake. Wherefore the Fault with which *Demetrius* is to be charged is his alienating and diſobliging his Troops, ſo as to make them his Enemies; and that of *Antony*, in being wanting to the unexampled Conſtancy and Fidelity of His.

The Ends of neither were commendable, but That of *Demetrius* was the moſt diſhonourable; for he ſuffered himſelf to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, and ignominiouſly bargained for a three Years Prolongation of Life, and, like Brute Beaſts, ſpent it in eating and drinking. Whereas *Antony* died indeed a diſhonourable Death, but it was without ſuffering his Enemies ever to become Maſters of his Perſon.

THE

# THE LIFE OF *DEMOSTHENES.*

WHOEVER it was, *Soſſius*, that wrote the Poem in Praiſe of *Alcibiades*, upon his winning the Horſe-race at the *Olympian* Games, whether it was *Euripides*, (as it is moſt commonly reported) or ſome other Perſon, he ſays, *That to a Man's being happy, it is in the firſt place requiſite he ſhould be born in ſome famous City:* But for Him who would attain unto true Happineſs, which for the moſt part is placed in the Qualities and Diſpoſition of the Mind, it *is*, in my Opinion, of no other Diſadvantage to be of a mean obſcure Country, than to be born of a Woman who is uncomely and low of Stature. For it were ridiculous to think that *Julis*, a little Part of *Ceos*, which itſelf is no great Iſland, and that *Ægina*, which a certain *Athenian* once ordered to be removed, as a ſmall eye-ſore, out of the Haven of *Piræus*, ſhould breed good Actors and Poets, and yet ſhould never be able to afford a Juſt, Temperate, Wiſe, and Valiant Man. Other Arts indeed, whoſe end it is to acquire Riches

Riches or Honour, are likely enough to wither and decay in poor obſcure Towns; but Virtue, like a ſtrong and durable Plant, takes Root and thrives in any Place, where it can lay hold of an ingenuous Nature, and a Mind that is induſtrious. Wherefore if either in our Judgment of Things, or Courſe of Life, we fall ſhort of what we ought to do, ſuch Failure we may juſtly attribute to ourſelves, and not to the Meanneſs of our Country.

Nevertheleſs, whoſoever ſhall deſign to write an Hiſtory conſiſting of Materials which muſt be gathered from Obſervation, and the reading of Authors not eaſy to be had, nor writ in his own Native Language, but many of them Foreign, and diſpers'd in other Hands; for Him it is in the firſt place, and above all things moſt neceſſary, to reſide in ſome City of good Note and Fame, addicted to Liberal Arts, and Populous; where he may have plenty of all ſorts of Books, and upon enquiry may hear, and inform himſelf of ſuch Particulars as having eſcaped the Pens of Writers, are yet more faithfully preſerved in the Memories of Men, leſt otherwiſe he publiſh a Work deficient in many things, and Thoſe ſuch as are neceſſary to its perfection.

But for my own part, I live in a little Town, where yet I am willing to continue leſt it ſhould ſtill grow leſs; and having no leiſure, while I abode in *Rome*, and other parts of *Italy*, to exerciſe myſelf in the *Roman* Language, both by reaſon of ſome publick Buſineſs, and for the ſake of Thoſe who came to be inſtructed by me in Philoſophy; it was very late, and in the decline of my Age, before I applied myſelf to the reading of *Latin* Authors. Upon which occaſion, That which happened to me may ſeem ſtrange, tho' it be true; for it was not ſo much by the knowledge of Words, that I came to the underſtanding of Things, as having gained ſome ſort of Experience in Things, by this means I attained to the Signification of Words. But to acquire a graceful and ready Pronunciation of the *Roman* Tongue, to underſtand the various Figures and Connexion of Words, and

ſuch other Ornaments, in which conſiſts the beauty of that Language, it were, I muſt confeſs, a pleaſant and very agreeable Diverſion; but the Study and Exerciſe which is required to This is not eaſy, and will better ſuit with Thoſe who have more Leiſure, and Time enough yet before them for ſuch Speculations.

Wherefore in this Book (which of my Parallel Lives is the Fifth) intending to write concerning *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, we will from their Actions and Employments in the Commonwealth, conſider the Natures and Diſpoſitions of Both of them together: But to examine and compare their Orations one againſt the other; to ſhew Which of the Two was the more fluent and pleaſing, Which the more cloſe and ſmart Speaker, that we ſhall let alone: For there (as *Ion* ſays)

*We are but like a Fiſh upon dry Land.*

*Cæcilius* (a Man apt to overſhoot himſelf upon all occaſions) was not aware of This, when too raſhly he adventured to publiſh his Compariſon of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*. But if it were a thing obvious and eaſy for every Man, *to know himſelf*, poſſibly that Saying, Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, had not paſſed for a Divine Oracle.

Now for *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, the Gods ſeem from the firſt to have made them much the ſame in their Natures and Conſtitutions, and in their Fortunes much alike; if we conſider their Ambition, their love of Liberty in the Commonwealth, and their want of Courage in Dangers and Martial Affairs. And, I think, there can hardly be found two other Orators, who from ſmall and obſcure Beginnings became ſo great and mighty; who Both conteſted with Kings and Tyrants; Both loſt their Daughters, were driven out of their Country, and returned with Honour; who flying from thence again, were both ſeized upon by their Enemies, and at laſt ended their Lives together with the Liberty of their Country. So that if there were a Trial of Skill between Nature and Fortune, as there is ſometimes between Artiſts,

Artiſts, it would be very hard to judge, whether That made theſe Men more alike in their Diſpoſitions and Manners, or This in their Adventures and Affairs——

But we will ſpeak of the eldeſt firſt.——

*Demoſthenes*, the Father of *Demoſthenes* the Orator, a Citizen of the beſt Rank and Quality, (as *Theopompus* writes) was Sir-named *The Sword-maker*; becauſe he had a large Work-houſe, and kept Servants ſkilful in that Art at Work. But of That which *Æſchines* the Orator ſaid of his Mother, that ſhe was deſcended of one *Gylon*, who fled his Country upon an Accuſation of Treaſon, and of a Barbarian Woman, I can affirm nothing, whether he ſpoke true, or whether he ſlandered and bely'd her. This is certain, that *Demoſthenes*, being as yet but ſeven Years old, was left by his Father in a plentiful Condition; (for the whole Value of his Eſtate was little ſhort of fifteen Talents:) But he was injured by his Guardians, part of his Fortune being by Them imbezzled, and the reſt neglected; inſomuch that even his Teachers were defrauded of their Salaries. This was the reaſon that he had not ſo liberal an Education as became a Youth of His Quality: Beſides, his Mother, in Conſideration of the Tenderneſs and Weakneſs of his Body, did not put him upon Labour, not did his Maſters force him. He was thin and ſickly from his Infancy; and it is ſaid, that in reſpect of his Bodily Infirmities, the Boys in ſcorn put upon him the reproachful Nick-name of *Batalus*; now this *Batalus* (as Some ſay) was a weak effeminate Piper; and *Antiphanes* made a Play on this Subject, in deriſion of him: Others make mention of *Batalus*, as a Poet, who wrote wanton Songs and Lampoons; and it ſhould ſeem that a certain part of the Body, not fit to be named, was about that time called *Batalus* by the *Athenians*. But the Name of *Argas* (for This they report to have been a Nick-name of *Demoſthenes*) was put upon him for his Behaviour, as being fierce and moroſe (for ſome of the Poets call a certain Serpent *Argas*) or for his way of ſpeaking, which was offenſive to his Hearers; (for *Argas* was alſo

the Name of a Poet, who made very bad and harſh Sonnets.) But enough of this Article.

The firſt occaſion of his eager Inclination to Oratory, they ſay was This; *Calliſtratus* the Orator being to plead in open Court for the City of *Oropus*, the expectation of the Iſſue of that Cauſe was very great, as well for the Ability of the Orator, who had then a flouriſhing Reputation, as alſo for the Fame of the Action itſelf. Therefore *Demoſthenes*, having heard the Tutors and Schoolmaſters agree among themſelves to be preſent at this Trial, with much Importunity perſuaded his Tutor to take Him along with him to the Hearing; and He having ſome Acquaintance with the Door-keepers, eaſily procured a Place where the Boy might ſit unſeen, and hear what was ſaid. *Calliſtratus* having got the Day, and being much admired, the Boy began to look upon his Glory with a kind of Emulation, obſerving how he was courted on all hands, and magnified by the Multitude. But much more did he wonder at the force of his Eloquence, able to ſubdue and win over any thing. From this time therefore bidding Farewel to all other ſorts of Learning and Puerile Diſciplines, he now began to exerciſe himſelf, and to take pains in Declaiming, as One who meant one day to be an Orator. He made uſe of *Iſæus* as his Guide to the Art of ſpeaking, though *Iſocrates* at that time kept a School: Whether (as Some ſay) being an Orphan, he was not able to pay *Iſocrates* his ordinary Salary of ten *Minæ*, or becauſe he preferred *Iſæus* his way of ſpeaking, as being more effectual, and fit for Uſe and Buſineſs. But *Hermippus* ſaith, That he met with certain Memoirs without any Author's Name, in which it was written that *Demoſthenes* was a Scholar to *Plato*, and by Him was much furthered in the Study of Eloquence: And he alſo mentions *Cteſibus*, as reporting from *Callias* of *Syracuſe*, and ſome Others, that *Demoſthenes* ſecretly got, and thoroughly learned the Arts of *Iſocrates* and *Alcidamus*.

As ſoon as he was of Age he went to Law with his Guardians, and began to write Orations againſt them,

who

who in the mean time found out many Subterfuges and Tricks to prolong the Suits. But *Demoſthenes* (as *Thucydides* has it) being thus exerciſed by Declaiming, and ſucceeding in it, (though not without ſome Toil and Hazard,) could not for all This recover any conſiderable Part of his Father's Eſtate; however attaining hereby to a Confidence in Speaking, and ſome competent Experience in it, and having got a Taſte of the Honour and Power which are acquired by Pleadings, he now ventured to come forth, and to undertake Publick Buſineſs. And as it is ſaid of *Laomedon* the *Orchomenian*, that by Advice of his Phyſician, he uſed to run long Stages for the curing of ſome Indiſpoſition of his Spleen, and having by this Exerciſe acquired Speed and Strength, betook himſelf to the *Garland-Games*, and became one of the Principal Runners at the long Race: So it happened to *Demoſthenes*, who firſt applying himſelf to Oratory for Recovery of his own private Eſtate, and ſo getting an Ability of Speaking; at length, in publick Buſineſs, as it were in thoſe Games, he began to have the Preeminence of all thoſe Citizens who contended for Maſtery in Pleadings at the Bar. But when he firſt addreſſed himſelf to the Popular Aſſembly, he met with great Diſcouragements, and was derided for his odd and uncouth way of ſpeaking; for his Periods were confuſed, and his Arguments forced, which made all ſeem very harſh and tedious. Beſides, he had a Weakneſs in his Voice, a perplexed and indiſtinct Utterance, and a ſhortneſs of Breath, which by breaking and disjointing his Sentences, much obſcur'd the Senſe and Meaning of what he ſpoke: So that in the End, being quite diſheartned, he forſook the Aſſembly; and as he was one day walking careleſly, and ſantering about the *Piræus*, *Eunomus* the *Thiaſian* (then a very old Man) ſeeing him, upbraided him, as one who having a way of Speaking much like That of *Pericles*, through Softneſs of Mind and Cowardlineſs, was wanting to Himſelf; neither bearing up with Courage againſt popular Tumults, nor fitting his Body for Action, but ſuffering it

to flag and languiſh through mere Sloth and Negligence. Another time, when he was exploded the Aſſembly, and went home with his Head muffled up, taking it very heavily, they report, that *Satyrus* the Actor followed him, and being his familiar Acquaintance, fell into Diſcourſe with him: To whom when *Demoſthenes* bemoaned himſelf, *that having been the moſt induſtrious of all the Pleaders, and having almoſt ſpent the whole Strength and Vigour of his Body in that Employment, he could not yet find any Acceptance with the People: that drunken Sots, Mariners, and illiterate Fellows were heard, and poſſeſſed the Pulpit, while He was deſpiſed. You ſay true (Demoſthenes)* replied *Satyrus, but I will quickly remedy the Cauſe of all This, if you will repeat to me ſome Sentence of* Euripides *or* Sophocles: Which when *Demoſthenes* had pronounced, *Satyrus* preſently taking it up after him, repeated the very ſame Sentence with ſuch a becoming Mien and Geſture, that to *Demoſthenes* it ſeemed quite another thing. Being by This convinced how much Grace and Ornament accrues to Speech from due Action, he began to eſteem it a ſmall Matter, and as good as nothing for a Man to exerciſe himſelf in Declaiming, if he neglected Pronunciation, and Geſture. Hereupon he built himſelf a Place to ſtudy in under Ground, which is ſtill remaining; and hither he would come conſtantly every Day to form his Action, and to exerciſe his Voice, and he would continue oftentimes without Intermiſſion two or three Months together, ſhaving one half of his Head, that ſo for Shame he might not go abroad, tho' he deſired it never ſo much. Nor was This all; but he alſo made his Converſation with People abroad, his Diſcourſe, and his Buſineſs ſubſervient to his Studies, taking from hence Occaſions and Arguments as Matter to work upon. For as ſoon as he was parted from his Company, down he would go preſently into his Study, and run over every thing in order as it had paſſed, and the Reaſon that might be alledged for and againſt it. Beſides, ſuch Speeches as he was preſent at he would recollect with Himſelf, and reduce

into

into Periods; and whatever Others ſpoke to Him, or He to Them, he would correct, tranſlate, and vary ſeveral ways. Hence it was that he was looked upon as a Perſon of no great Natural Wit; bŭt as One who owed all the Power and Ability he had in Speaking, to Labour and Induſtry: Of the truth of which, This was no ſmall ſign; that a man ſhould not lightly hear *Demoſthenes* ever ſpeak upon the Occaſion, but though he were by Name frequently called upon by the People as he ſat in the publick Aſſembly, yet he would not riſe up to plead unleſs he had well conſidered the Buſineſs, and came prepared for it; ſo that many of the Popular Pleaders uſed to flout at him; and *Phytheas*, once ſcoffing him, ſaid, *That his Arguments ſmelt of the Lamp.* But *Demoſthenes* replied upon him ſharply, *It is true indeed*, Pytheas, *your Lamp and mine are not conſcious of the ſame things.* But to ſome Others he would not much deny This, but would freely confeſs, that in his Pleadings he did neither commit all to Writing, nor yet wholly ſpeak without Notes. And moreover he would affirm, that He ought to be accounted the moſt Popular Speaker who uſed Premeditation, ſuch Preparation being a kind of reſpect to the People; whereas to ſlight, and take no care how what is ſaid is like to be reſented by the Multitude, ſavours more of an Oligarchick Humour, and of one who intends Force rather than Perſuaſion. But of his want of Courage and Aſſurance to ſpeak *extempore*, they make This alſo another Argument; That when he was at a loſs, and diſcompoſed, *Demades* would often riſe up on the ſudden, and readily aſſiſt him; but *Demoſthenes* was never obſerved to do the Same for *Demades*. Whence then (may Some ſay) was it, that *Æſchines* ſpeaks of him as a Perſon ſo much to be wondered at for his Boldneſs in ſpeaking? Or how could it be, when *Python* the *Byzantine* with ſo much Confidence and ſuch a Torrent of Words, inveighed againſt the *Athenians*, that *Demoſthenes* Alone ſtood up to oppoſe him? Or when *Lammachus* the *Myrrinæan* had writ a Panegyrick upon King *Philip* and *Alexander*, in which

he

he uttered many things reproachfully of the *Thebans* and *Olythians*, and at the *Olympian* Games recited it publickly; how was it, that He presently rising up, and rehearsing historically and demonstratively what Benefits and Advantages all *Greece* had received from the *Thebans* and *Chalcidians*; and on the contrary, what Mischiefs the Flatterers of the *Macedonians* had brought upon it; so turned the Minds of all that were present, that the Sophister fearing the Tumult, privily withdrew himself out of the Assembly? But it may be no difficult Matter to reconcile those seeming Contradictions. For my part I think that *Demosthenes*, who had taken *Pericles* for his Model, did not tie himself up to follow him so implicitly in the many other Instances, as in his Pronunciation and Gesture, but more especially in his Rule of not speaking on a sudden, and upon all sorts of Subjects, being persuaded that to That Rule he owed all his Greatness. And yet he was not wholly averse to the Glory that ariseth on those *extempore* Occasions, but did not care to expose his Faculty too frequently to the Mercy of Chance. Indeed the Orations which were spoken by him, had much more of Boldness and Confidence in them, than Those he only left in writing; if we may believe *Eratosthenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, and the Comedians: Amongst whom *Eratosthenes* saith, that in his Pleadings he would be oftentimes transported with a kind of Rage and Fury: And *Phalereus*, that he would frequently repeat to the People that Oath in the Verse,

*By Earth, by Springs, by Rivers, and by Streams.*

as a Man inspired, and beside himself. One of the Comedians calls him *Ropoperperethras*, a Dealer in small Wares: Another scoffs at him for using that *Antithesis*, *As he took, so he retook*; for *Demosthenes* much affected this Expression. Unless perhaps *Antiphanes* might speak this jestingly, with allusion to his Oration concerning the Island *Halonesus*, which *Demosthenes* persuaded the *Athenians* not *to take, but retake from* King *Philip*. But all

all acknowledged *Demades*, upon the mere uſe of his Natural Wit, a Perſon not to be out-done; and that in what he ſpoke on the ſudden, he excelled all the Studies and Preparations of *Demoſthenes*. And *Ariſto* the *Chian* has related a certain Cenſure which *Theophraſtus* paſſed upon the Orators; for being aſked what kind of Orator he accounted *Demoſthenes?* He anſwered, *Worthy of the City of* Athens. And then, What he thought of *Demades?* He anſwered, *Above it.* And the ſame Philoſopher reports, that *Polyeuctus Sphettius*, one of the Magiſtracy about that time, was wont to ſay, that *Demoſthenes* was *the greateſt Orator*, but *Phocion the ableſt Pleader*; being one who expreſſed the moſt Senſe in the feweſt Words. And indeed it is reported, that *Demoſthenes* Himſelf, as often as *Phocion* went up into the Pulpit to plead againſt him, would ſay to his Acquaintance. *Now ſtands up the Pruner of my Words.* Yet it does not appear whether it was from the Eloquence of this Man, or from his Life and Reputation, that *Demoſthenes* had ſuch an Opinion of him, as thinking one Word or Nod from a Man in ſo high Credit, to be of more Authority and Force, than the many and long Speeches of Others.

*Demetrius* the *Phalerean* tells us, upon the Credit of *Demoſthenes* Himſelf, from whom, when he was grown very old, he had it, that the ways he made uſe of to help the natural Infirmities and Defects of his Body, were ſuch as Theſe: His inarticulate and ſtammering Pronunciation he overcame and rendered more diſtinct by ſpeaking Orations with Pebbles in his Mouth: His Voice he exerciſed by diſcourſing and pronouncing Speeches or Verſes when he was out of Breath with running or going up ſteep Places. And in his Houſe he had a large Looking-Glaſs, before which he would ſtand and repeat his Declamations. It is reported, that a certain Man coming to crave his Advice and Aſſiſtance, and relating at large what Blows he had received from his Adverſary; *Sure*, ſaid *Demoſthenes*, *thou haſt ſuffered nothing of all This thou talkeſt of:* Upon which the Man ſtraining his Voice,

Voice, and crying out aloud, *How* Demoſthenes! *have I ſuffered nothing?* Ay marry, replied he, *now I hear the Voice of One who has been injured and beaten.* Of ſo great Conſequence towards the gaining of Belief, did he eſteem the Tone and Action of the Speaker. The Action which he uſed Himſelf was wonderfully pleaſing to the Common People; but by Thoſe of the better ſort (of whom *Demetrius Phalereus* was one) it was looked upon as low, mean, and unmanly. Yet *Hermippus* ſays of *Æſion*, that being aſked his Opinion concerning the ancient Orators and Thoſe of his own time, he anſwered *that one would have wondered to hear thoſe Ancients, with what Decorum and Grandeur they addreſſed themſelves to the People, but the Orations of* Demoſthenes *appear moſt admirable upon reading, both for their Artificial Compoſure and Strength of Argument.* The Speeches indeed which were penned by him, a Man may well ſay, were written with much Severity, and with ſome kind of Bitterneſs; but in his Repartees on the ſudden, he was uſually facetious and pleaſant. To *Demades*, ſaying, *Demoſthenes teach me? So may the Sow teach* Minerva: He replied, *That* Minerva *of yours was lately taken playing the whore in* Colytus. To a Thief whoſe Name was *Calchus*, attempting to upbraid him for ſitting up late, and writing by Candle-light; *I know very well*, ſaid he, *that my Candle troubles you; but wonder not (O ye Men of* Athens) *at the many Robberies which are ſo frequently committed, ſince we have Thieves of Braſs, and Walls of Clay.* But of theſe Matters, though much more might be added upon the ſame Subject, we will ſay no more: it being juſt and reaſonable, that we now proceed to take an Eſtimate of his Nature and Manners, from his Action and Management of Affairs in the Commonwealth.

His firſt entring into publick Buſineſs was much about the time of the *Phocian* War, as himſelf affirms, and may be collected from his *Philippick* Orations: For theſe were made ſoon after that Action was over, and the firſt of his Speeches relate to Affairs which happened very near

near the ſame time. The Accuſation he had prepared againſt *Midias*, it is manifeſt was writ by him when he was but two and thirty Years old, having as yet no Intereſt or Reputation in the Commonwealth: And it ſeems to me, that upon this Conſideration only, being afraid to proceed, he let fall his Action, and was reconciled for a Sum of Money. For

——— *no Prayer, no moving Art*
*E'er bent that fierce, inexorable Heart.* Pope.

as *Homer* ſaith of *Achilles*; and like Him was *Demoſthenes*, of a Diſpoſition implacable and revengeful: However, finding it an hard Matter and above his Strength to deal with *Midias*, a Man ſo well ſecured on all ſides with Money, Eloquence, and Friends, he yielded to the Intreaties of Thoſe who interceded for him. But had he ſeen any hopes or poſſibility of prevailing, I cannot believe that three thouſand Drachmas could have taken off the Edge of his Revenge. The Cauſe he undertook in the Commonwealth was fair and juſt; the Defence of the *Græcians* againſt *Philip*; in which he behaved himſelf ſo worthily, that he ſoon grew Famous, and was every where admired for his Eloquence and Courage in ſpeaking. He was adored through all *Greece*, the Great King of *Perſia* courted him, and by *Philip* Himſelf he was more eſteemed than all the other Orators. His very Enemies were forced to confeſs, that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour; for ſuch a Character even *Æſchines* and *Hyperides* have given him; where they accuſe and ſpeak againſt him. So that I cannot imagine what Ground *Theopompus* had to ſay, that *Demoſthenes* was of a wavering unſettled Humour, which could not long continue firm either to the ſame Men, or the ſame Affairs; whereas the contrary is moſt apparent; for the ſame Party and Way of Government which he held with at the beginning, to Thoſe he kept conſtant to the end; and was ſo far from leaving them while he lived, that he choſe rather to forſake his Life than his Party.

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He was not heard to Apologize for his ſhifting of Sides like *Demades*, who would ſay, *he often ſpoke againſt Himſelf, but never againſt the City*. Nor as *Melanopus*, who being generally againſt *Calliſtratus*, but often bribed off with Money, was wont to tell the People, *The Man indeed is my Enemy, but we muſt ſubmit for the good of our Country*. Neither at *Nicodemus* the *Meſſenian*, who having firſt appeared on *Caſſander*'s ſide, and afterwards taking part with *Demetrius*, ſaid, *That he was not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with himſelf, ſince it was always the ſafeſt way to ſubmit to the moſt Powerful*. But we have nothing of this kind to ſay againſt *Demoſthenes*, as one who would turn aſide or prevaricate, either in Word or Deed: For he ſtill kept one conſtant Tenor in his Actions, as if they had been all governed by one unalterable Scheme of Policy. And *Panetius* the Philoſopher ſaid, that moſt of his Orations are ſo written, as if they were to prove that one Concluſion, that what is honeſt and virtuous is for itſelf only to be choſen; as That *of the Crown*, That *againſt Ariſtocrates*, That *for the Immunities*, and the *Philippicks*; in All which he perſuades his Citizens to purſue not That which ſeems moſt pleaſant, eaſy, or profitable; but declares that in many Caſes, they ought in the firſt place to prefer That which is Juſt and Honourable, before their own Safety and Preſervation. So that if he had kept his Hands clean from Bribery, if his Courage for the Wars had been anſwerable to the Generoſity of his Principles, and the Excellency of his Orations, he might deſervedly have his Name placed in the higheſt Rank with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*, and not in the number of ſuch Orators as *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus* and *Hyperides*. Therefore amongſt Thoſe who ſucceeded him, *Phocion*, though he appeared on that ſide in the Commonwealth which was not ſo well eſteemed of, and ſeemed to favour the *Macedonians*; yet for his Valour and Juſtice he was thought a Perſon no way inferior to *Ephialtus*, *Ariſtides*, and *Cimon*: But *Demoſthenes* being neither fit to be at all relied on for his Courage in Arms, (as *Demetrius* ſays) nor

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on every ſide well fortified againſt Bribery, (for how invincible ſoever he was againſt the Gifts of *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, yet lying open to the Aſſaults, and being overpowered by the Gold which came down from *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*) it appeared that he was much better able to recommend than to imitate the Virtues of our Anceſtors. And yet (excepting only *Phocion*) even in his Life and Manners he far ſurpaſſed the other Orators of his Time. None of them diſcourſed to the People with ſo great Freedom and Boldneſs: He would not ſpare their Faults, but oppoſed himſelf againſt the unreaſonable Deſires of the Multitude (as may be gathered from his Orations.) And *Theopompus* writes, that the *Athenians* having by Name appointed *Demoſthenes*, and calling upon him to accuſe a certain Perſon, he refuſed to do it: Upon which the Aſſembly being all in an Uproar, he roſe up and ſaid, *Your Counſellor, whether you will or no, (O ye Men of* Athens) *you ſhall always have me; but a Sycophant or falſe Accuſer, though you would have me, I ſhall never be.* His Carriage in the Caſe of *Antipho* was plainly Ariſtocratical; whom, after he had been acquitted in the Aſſembly, he took and brought before the Court of *Areopagus*, and, ſetting at nought the Diſpleaſure of the People, convicted him of having promiſed *Philip* to burn the *Arſenal*; whereupon the Man was condemned by that Court, and ſuffered for it. He accuſed alſo *Theoris* the *Prieſteſs*, amongſt many other Miſdemeanors, for having inſtructed and taught the Slaves how to deceive and cheat their Maſters, for which the Sentence of Death paſſed upon her, and ſhe was executed. The Oration which *Apollodorus* made uſe of, and by it carried the Cauſe againſt *Timotheus* the Prætor, in an Action of Debt, was ſaid to be written for him by *Demoſthenes*; as alſo Thoſe Others againſt *Phormio* and *Stephanus*: But this Practice of His was thought diſhonourable, and juſtly enough; for the Speech which *Phormio* ſpake againſt *Apollodorus* was alſo of His making; by which means he did as it were furniſh two Adverſaries out of the ſame Shop with Weapons to wound one another. Of

his Orations which were made in publick to the People, That againſt *Androtion*, and the Other againſt *Timocretes* and *Ariſtocratus*, were written for Others, before he dealt Himſelf in the Affairs of the Commonwealth; for Theſe it ſeems were publiſhed by him, when he was yet but Seven or Eight and Twenty Years old. That againſt *Ariſtogeiton*, and That for the *Immunities*, he ſpake Himſelf, at the requeſt (as he ſays) of *Cteſippus* the Son of *Chabrias*, but as Some ſay, out of Courtſhip to the young Man's Mother; though he never married her: For his Wife was a Woman of *Samos*, as *Demetrius* the *Magneſian* writes in his Book, *de Synonymis*. It is not certain whether his Oration againſt the *falſe Embaſſy of Eſchines* was ever ſpoken; although *Idomeneus* ſays, that *Eſchines* wanted only thirty Voices to acquit him; but this ſeems not to be true, at leaſt ſo far as may be conjectured from both their Orations writ *concerning the Crown*: For neither of them hath mentioned any thing clearly or directly of it, as a Cauſe that ever came to Trial. But let Others decide this Controverſy.

Now it was evident even in the times of Peace, what Courſe *Demoſthenes* would ſteer in the Commonwealth: For whatever was done by the *Macedonian* he could not forbear finding fault with it; but upon all Occaſions was ſtirring up the People of *Athens*, and inflaming them againſt him: Therefore in the Court of *Philip*, no Man was ſo much talked of, or of ſo great Account as He: And when he came thither, one of the ten Ambaſſadors, who were ſent into *Macedonia*, though All had Audience given them, yet his Speech was anſwered with moſt Care and Exactneſs: but in other Reſpects *Philip* entertained him not ſo honourably as the reſt, neither did he ſhew him the ſame Kindneſs and Civility with which he applied himſelf to *Eſchines* and *Philocrates*: So that when the others commended *Philip* as *an able Speaker, a beautiful Perſon, and a good Companion that could drink ſtoutly*; *Demoſthenes* could not forbear turning thoſe Encomiums into Burleſque. *The Firſt*, he ſaid, *was the Quality of a Rhetorician, the Second of a Woman, and the*

*laſt*

*laſt was the Property of a Spunge rather than a Prince.* When Things looked towards a War, (*Philip* on the one ſide being not able to live in Peace, and the *Athenians* on the Other being ſtirred up by *Demoſthenes*) the firſt Action he put them upon, was the reducing of *Eubœa*, which by the Treachery of the Governors was brought under Subjection to *Philip*. To this Purpoſe, He having procured a Decree, they croſſed over thither and chaced the *Macedonians* out of the Iſland. The next was the Relief of the *Byzantines* and *Perinthians*, with whom the *Macedonians* at that time made War. He perſuaded the People to lay aſide their Enmity againſt thoſe Nations, to forget the Offences committed by them in the Wars with their Confederates, and to ſend them ſuch Succours as ſaved and ſecured them. Not long after he undertook an Embaſſy to the *Græcians*, whom he ſolicited and ſo far incenſed againſt *Philip*, that (a few only excepted) he wrought them All into a general Inſurrection: So that beſides the Forces to be raiſed by the Cities, who were to bear their own Expences, there was an Army conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe, and the Money to pay theſe Strangers was levied and brought in with great Chearfulneſs; but when the Allies deſired that their Contributions for the War might be aſcertain'd and ſtated, *Crobylus* the Orator (as *Theophraſtus* ſays) told them plainly, *That War could not be kept to any ſet Diet.* Now was all *Greece* up in Arms, and in great Expectation what would be the Event of theſe Things. The *Eubœans*, the *Achaians*, the *Corinthians*, the *Megarians*, the *Leucadians*, and *Corcyræans*, their People, and their Cities were all joined together in a League: But the hardeſt Taſk was yet behind left for *Demoſthenes*, to draw the *Thebans* into this Confederacy with the reſt. Their Country bordered next upon *Attica*, they had great Forces for the War, and at that time they were accounted the beſt Soldiers of all *Greece*; but it was no eaſy matter to make Them break with *Philip*, who by many good Offices had ſo lately obliged them in the *Phocian* War; eſpecially conſidering the

Quarrels and Diſputes between theſe two Cities, occaſion'd from the nearneſs of their Frontiers, and by frequent light Skirmiſhes on both ſides daily renewed and exaſperated. But after *Philip*, being now grown high and puffed up with his good Succeſs at *Amphiſſa*, had on a ſudden ſurpriſed *Elatæa*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Phocis*, the *Athenians* were under a great Conſternation, none durſt venture up into the Pulpit, or knew what to ſay, All were at a Loſs, and the whole Aſſembly in a deep Silence and great Perplexity. In this Extremity of Affairs, *Demoſthenes* was the only Man who appeared, adviſing to apply themſelves to the *Thebans*; and having otherwiſe encouraged the People, and (as his Manner was) raiſed their Spirits up with Hopes, He, with ſome others, was ſent Ambaſſador to *Thebes*. To oppoſe Him (as *Marſias* ſays) *Philip* alſo ſent thither His Ambaſſadors, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus* two *Macedonians*, beſides *Doachus*, *Theſſalus*, and *Thraſydæus*. Now upon Conſultation the *Thebans* were well enough aware what ſuited beſt with their own Intereſt; but every one had before his Eyes the dreadful Calamities of War, and the Wounds they had lately received at *Phocis* were ſtill remaining green and freſh upon them. But ſuch was the Force and Power of our Orator, (as *Theopompus* tells us) that enkindling their Minds, and inflaming them with a Deſire of Glory, he took away their Sight, and caſt a Miſt before all other Conſiderations; ſo that extinguiſhing in their Minds all Sentiments of Fear, Prudence and Gratitude, they were raviſhed and tranſported by his Eloquence, as by a Piece of Enthuſiaſm, and were inflamed with no other Deſires but what were great and honourable. This ſo famous an Enterpriſe, accompliſhed by an Orator, was thought to be of ſuch great Conſequence, that *Philip* immediately ſent Heralds to treat and deſire a Peace. All *Greece* was unanimouſly up in Arms. The Commanders in chief not only of *Attica*, but of *Bœotia*, applied themſelves to *Demoſthenes*, and obſerved his Directions: He managed all the Aſſemblies, as well Thoſe of the *Thebans*, as of the *Athenians*: He

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was beloved both by the One and by the Other, and had the ſame Authority with Both. Neither was all this Reſpect ſhewed him without good Cauſe; for (as *Theopompus* had declared) it was no more than was decent and due to his Merit. But there was, it ſhould ſeem, ſome fatal Deſtiny in the Revolution of theſe Affairs, which, having determined to put a Period at this time to the Liberty of *Greece*, oppoſed and thwarted all their Actions; and by many Signs foretold what ſhould happen. Such were the dreadful Predictions uttered by the *Pythian* Prieſteſs, and this old Oracle cited out of the Sibyls;

*The Battle fought at* Thermodon, *let me*
*An Eagle in the Air at Diſtance ſee:*
*Where They who overcome ſhall mourn; and He*
*Who conquers ſcarce ſurvive his Victory.*

This *Thermodon*, they ſay, is a little River in our Country near *Chæronea*, which emptieth itſelf into *Cephiſus*: But we know none of that Name at this time, only we conjecture that That which is now call'd *Hæmon*, and runs by the Temple of *Hercules*, where the *Grecians* were encamped, might perhaps in thoſe Days be called *Thermodon*, and after the Fight, being filled with Blood and dead Bodies, upon this Occaſion (as we gueſs) might change its old Name for that which it now bears. Yet *Duris* ſays, that this *Thermodon* was no River, but that ſome of the Soldiers, as they were pitching their Tents, and digging Trenches about them, found a ſmall Marble Statue, which, by the Inſcription, appear'd to be the Figure of *Thermodon*, carrying a wounded *Amazon* in his Arms. Concerning this Battle there was alſo another Oracle alledged,

*Stay, Ravens, and expect the Fight at* Thermodon,
*There will be Carcaſes good Store to feed upon.*

In fine, it is not eaſy to determine what there is of Truth in theſe Reports. But of *Demoſthenes* it is ſaid,

that he had ſo great Confidence in the *Græcian* Forces, and ſeeing the Courage and Reſolution of ſo many brave Men ready to engage the Enemy, grew ſo high and lofty, that he would by no means endure they ſhould give any heed to Oracles, or hearken to Prophecies, but gave out that he ſuſpected even the Propheteſs herſelf, as if ſhe had been tamper'd with to ſpeak in Favour of *Philip*. The *Thebans* he put in mind of *Epaminondas*, the *Athenians* of *Pericles*, who always took their own Meaſures and govern'd their Actions by Reaſon, looking upon ſuch Fopperies as a Pretence only for Cowardiſe. Thus far therefore *Demoſthenes* acquitted himſelf like a Man of Honour. But in the Fight, when it came to Blows, he did nothing honourable, nor were his Performances any way anſwerable to his Speeches. For deſerting his Poſt, and throwing down his Arms, he run away moſt ſhamefully, and diſgraced, as *Pytheas* has well obſerved, the fine Device he had cauſed to be engraven in Letters of Gold upon his Shield, *To good Fortune*.

In the mean time *Philip*, ſoon after the Victory, was ſo tranſported with Joy, that having drank to Exceſs, he grew extravagant, and inſulted over the Dead, ſo that ſtamping, and dancing, and raiſing his Voice to the Meaſures of his Feet, he ſung the firſt Words of *Demoſthenes*'s Decree. Demoſthenes *the* Pæanean, *Son of* Demoſthenes, *has decreed*.

But when he came to Himſelf, and had well conſidered the dangerous Circumſtances he was lately under, he was ſtruck with Horror, reflecting upon the Strength and mighty Power of ſuch an Orator, who had enforced him, within the Compaſs of a few Hours, to run the Hazard both of his Life and Empire. His Fame alſo reached even to the Court of *Perſia*, and the King ſent Letters to his Lieutenants, commanding them to feed *Demoſthenes* with Money, and to make their chief Application to Him, as the only Man of all the *Græcians*, who was beſt able to give *Philip* a Diverſion, and to employ his Forces nearer Home in the Troubles of *Greece*. This afterwards came to the Knowledge of *Alexander*, by certain

certain Letters of *Demoſthenes*, which he found at *Sardis*, and by other Papers of the *Perſian* Officers, expreſſing the vaſt Sums which had been given him.

At this time, upon the ill Succeſs which now happened to the *Græcians*, Thoſe of the contrary Faction in the Commonwealth fell foul upon *Demoſthenes*, and took this Opportunity to frame ſeveral Informations and Indictments againſt him. But the People not only acquitted him of theſe Accuſations, but continued towards him their former Reſpect, and as a Man that meant well, they reſtored him to the Management of their publick Affairs. Inſomuch, that when the Bones of Thoſe who had been ſlain at *Chæronea* were brought home to be ſolemnly interred, *Demoſthenes* was the Man they pitched on to make the Funeral Oration. By which they made it appear, as we are told by *Theopompus* (who magnifies them for their Behaviour on that Occaſion) that they not only bore their Loſs without Meanneſs or Dejection of Spirit; but that by the Honour and Reſpect ſhewn to their Counſellor, it was plain they were no way diſſatisfied with the Counſels he had given them. The Speech therefore wa. ſpoken by *Demoſthenes*: But in the Decrees which were paſſed afterwards, he would not ſuffer them to bear his Name in the Title, but made uſe of his Friends one after another; for he looked upon his own Genius as unfortunate and inauſpicious; 'till at length he took Courage again after the Death of *Philip*, who did not long out-live his Victory at *Chæronea*. And this it ſeems was that which was foretold in the laſt Verſes of the Oracle.

*Where They who overcome ſhall mourn, and He*
*Who conquers ſcarce ſurvive his Victory.*

*Demoſthenes* had ſecret Intelligence of the Death of *Philip*; and laying hold of this Opportunity to poſſeſs the People with Courage, and better Hopes for the future, he came into the Aſſembly with a chearful Countenance, pretending to have ſeen a Viſion, from whence the

the *Athenians* were to expect ſome great Matters; and not long after arrived the Meſſengers, who brought the News of *Philip*'s Death: No ſooner had the People received it, but immediately they offered Sacrifice to the Gods, and decreed a Crown to *Pauſanias*, who had ſlain him.

At the ſame time *Demoſthenes* appeared publickly in a rich Habit, with a Chaplet on his Head, though it were but the ſeventh Day after the Death of his Daughter, as it is ſaid by *Eſchines*, who upbraids him upon this Account, and rails at him as one void of natural Affection towards his Children; whereas indeed he has by this means rather betrayed Himſelf to be of a poor, low Spirit, and effeminate Mind, while he ſeems to make immoderate Grief and Lamentation the only ſigns of a gentle and compaſſionate Nature, and to condemn Thoſe who bear ſuch Accidents with more Temper and leſs Paſſion. For my own part, I cannot ſay that the Behaviour of the *Athenians* on this Occaſion was any way decent or honourable, to crown themſelves with Garlands, to ſacrifice to the Gods, and All for the Death of a Prince, who in the midſt of his Succeſs and Victories, when they were a conquered People, had uſed Them with ſo much Clemency and Humanity; for it was a practice both unworthy and baſe to make him free of their City, and to honour him while he lived; and yet as ſoon as he fell by Treaſon, to ſet no Bounds to their Joy, to inſult over him when dead, and to ſing triumphant Songs of Victory, as if by their own Valour they had vanquiſhed him. I muſt needs commend the Carriage of *Demoſthenes*; who leaving vain Tears and Lamentations to the Women, made it his Buſineſs to do That which he thought moſt profitable for the Commonwealth. And I think it the Duty of Him, who would be accounted to have a Soul truly Valiant, and fit for Government, to ſtand always firm to the common Good, and neglecting his own private Calamities and Affairs, when they come into Competition with the Publick, to maintain the Dignity of his Character and Station;

Station; much more than good Actors, who repreſent the Perſons of Kings and Tyrants: and yet Theſe, we ſee, when they either laugh or weep on the Stage, do not follow their own Inclinations, but obſerve that *Decorum* in their Actions which the Subject requires. Moreover, if we ought not to leave the Unfortunate overwhelm'd with Sorrow, but to uſe ſome ſuch Speeches as may alleviate their Afflictions, and divert their Minds with more pleaſing Objects (as we uſe to adviſe Thoſe who are troubled with ſore Eyes, to withdraw their Sight from bright and offenſive Colours, to Green, and thoſe of ſofter Mixture;) from whence can a Man furniſh himſelf with better Arguments of Conſolation for the Afflictions of his Family, than by endeavouring to attemper and allay his own private Misfortunes with the good Succeſs and Recovery of his Country out of publick Calamities; that ſo the better Fortune of the One may in ſome meaſure obſcure and conceal the ill Circumſtances of the Other.

I have been the larger in this Digreſſion, becauſe I obſerve in a Speech of *Eſchines* upon this Subject, that he endeavours to move and ſoften the Minds of the People with Womaniſh Pity and Commiſeration.

But now to return to my Narrative: The Cities of *Greece*, by the Inſtigation of *Demoſthenes*, once more conſpired together to make another Inſurrection. The *Thebans*, whom he had provided with Arms, ſet upon their Garriſon, and ſlew many of them; the *Athenians* made Preparations to join their Forces with them; *Demoſthenes* beſtirred himſelf in the Pulpit, and writ Letters to the *Perſian* Officers, who commanded under the King in *Aſia*, inciting them to make War from thence upon the *Macedonian*; calling him a *Child*, *a ſecond* Margytes: But, as ſoon as *Alexander* had ſettled Affairs in his own Country, and came Himſelf in Perſon with his Army into *Bœotia*, the Courage of the *Athenians* abated, and *Demoſthenes* grew cold: So that the poor *Thebans* being thus deſerted, and betrayed by them, were forced to give him Battle alone, and by this means loſt their City. Hereupon the People of *Athens* were all in an Uproar, and in great

great Perplexity reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Alexander*: Amongſt Others they made choice of *Demoſthenes* for One; but his Heart failing him for fear of the King's Anger, he returned back from *Cithæron*, and left the Embaſſy. In the mean time, *Alexander* ſent to *Athens*, requiring ten of their Orators to be deliver'd up to him, as *Idomeneus* and *Thuris* have reported; but as the moſt and beſt Hiſtorians ſay, he demanded theſe eight only; *Demoſthenes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Calliſthenes*, and *Charidemus*. It was upon this Occaſion, that *Demoſthenes* related to them the Fable wherein the Sheep are ſaid to deliver up their Dogs to the Wolves; comparing Himſelf and the other Orators to the Dogs who watch over and fight for the Sheep, and *Alexander* he compared to the Wolf. Beſides which, he farther told them, *That as we ſee Corn-Merchants ſell their whole Stock by a few Grains of Wheat, which they carry into the Market in a Diſh, as a ſmall Sample of the reſt; ſo You, by delivering up Us, who are but a few, do at the ſame time unawares ſurrender up yourſelves to the Enemy.* Theſe things we find thus related in the Hiſtory of *Ariſtobulus* the *Caſſandrian*.——

The *Athenians* were now deliberating, and at a loſs what to do, when *Demades*, having agreed with the Perſons whom *Alexander* had demanded, for five Talents, undertook to go Ambaſſador, and to intercede with the King for them; and whether it was that he relied on his Friendſhip and Kindneſs, or that he hoped to find him ſatiated, as a Lion glutted with Slaughter, he prevailed with him both to pardon the Men, and to be reconciled to their City. Upon the departure of *Alexander*, the Faction of *Demades* grew in great Power and Authority; but *Demoſthenes* was quite under the Hatches. He began indeed to make ſome Figure again, when *Agis* the King of *Lacedæmon* appeared at the Head of a potent Army in *Attica*; but the *Athenians* refuſed to join with the *Spartans*, and *Agis* being ſoon after killed in a Battle with *Antigonus*, wherein the *Spartans* were overthrown, *Demoſthenes*'s Intereſt ſunk again to nothing.

At

At this time it was that the Indictment againſt *Cteſiphon*, concerning the *Crown*, was brought to Trial. The Action was commenced a little before the Battle in *Chæronea*, when *Charondas* was *Archon*, but it came not to Sentence 'till about ten Years after, *Ariſtophon* being then *Archon*. Never was any publick Cauſe more celebrated than This; both for the Fame of the Orators, and for the generous Courage of the Judges, who, tho' at that time the Accuſers of *Demoſthenes* were Men of the greateſt Power, and ſupported by the Favour of the *Macedonians*, yet would not give Judgment againſt him, but acquitted him ſo honourably, that *Eſchines* had ſcarce the fifth part of their Suffrages on his Side. He, with good reaſon, was ſo aſhamed of his Succeſs, that he immediately left the City, and ſpent the reſt of his Life in teaching Rhetorick in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, and upon the Continent in *Ionia*.

It was not long after This, when *Harpalus* quitted the Service of *Alexander*, and fled out of *Aſia* to *Athens*. He was conſcious to himſelf of many lewd Practices occaſioned by his Luxury, and feared the King, who was now grown terrible even to his beſt Friends. Yet this Man had no ſooner addreſſed himſelf to the People, and delivered up his Goods, his Ships, and Himſelf to their Diſpoſal, but the other Orators of the Town had their Eyes quickly fixed upon his Money, and came in to his Aſſiſtance, perſuading the *Athenians* to receive and protect their Suppliant. But *Demoſthenes* at firſt gave advice to chaſe him out of the Country, and to beware leſt they involved their City in a War upon ſo unneceſſary and unjuſt an Occaſion. Yet ſome few Days after, as they were taking an Account of the Treaſure, *Harpalus* perceiving how much he was pleaſed with the King's Cup, and how curiouſly he ſurveyed the Sculpture and Faſhion of it, he deſired him to poiſe it in his Hand, and conſider the weight of the Gold. *Demoſthenes* being amazed to feel how heavy it was, aſked him what Price it would *come for?* To you, Sir, ſaid *Harpalus* with a ſmiling Countenance, it ſhall *come with* twenty Talents. And preſently after,

after, when Night drew on, he ſent him the Cup with ſo many Talents. This *Harpalus* it ſeems was a Perſon of good ſkill to diſcern a Man's Covetouſneſs by the Air of his Countenance, and from the pleaſant Caſt of his Eyes to diſcover his Nature. For in ſhort *Demoſthenes* could not reſiſt the Temptation, but receiving the Preſent like a Garriſon into his Houſe, he was overcome, and wholly ſurrendered himſelf up to the Intereſt of *Harpalus*. The next Day he came into the Aſſembly with his Neck ſwath'd about with Wool and Rollers, and when they called on him to riſe up and ſpeak, he made Signs as if he had loſt his Voice. But the Wits turning the Matter to Ridicule, ſaid that certainly *the Orator had not been ſeized that Night with a ſimple but ſilver Squincy.* And ſoon after the People being ſenſible of the Bribery, grew angry, and would not ſuffer him to ſpeak, or make an Apology for Himſelf, but run him down with Noiſe. Whereupon a certain Droll ſtood up, ſaying, *O ye Men of* Athens, *What, will you not hear the King's Cup-bearer?* So at length they baniſhed *Harpalus* out of the City; and fearing leſt they ſhould be called to Account for the Treaſure which the Orators had purloined, they made a ſtrict enquiry, going from Houſe to Houſe; only they would not ſuffer the Officers to ſearch the Houſe of *Callicles* the Son of *Arrenidas*, who was newly married, out of reſpect, as *Theopompus* writes, to the Bride. But *Demoſthenes* oppoſed the Inquiſition, and preferred a Decree to refer the Buſineſs to the Court of *Areopagus*, and to puniſh Thoſe whom they ſhould find guilty. But He himſelf being one of the firſt whom the Court condemned, when he came to the Bar, was fined fifty Talents, and committed to Priſon; where, out of Shame of the Crime for which he was condemned, and through the weakneſs of Body, growing ſoon impatient and weary of his Confinement, with the Privity of Some, and by the Contrivance of others of his Keepers, he made his Eſcape.

He had not fled far from the City, when finding that he was purſued by ſome of thoſe Citizens who had been his Adverſaries, he endeavour'd to hide himſelf. But when

when they called him by his Name, and coming up nearer to him, desired he would accept from them some Money, which they had brought from home, as a small Provision for his Journey, and to that Purpose only had followed him; when they intreated him to take Courage, and without Passion to bear up against his Misfortune; he burst out into much greater Lamentation; saying, *But how is it possible for me to support myself under so heavy an Affliction, since I am forced to leave a City where we meet with Enemies of more Compassion and Generosity, than is to be found in Friends elsewhere?* The Truth is, he bore his Banishment after an unmanly Fashion, settling for the most part in *Ægina* and *Træzene*, and with Tears in his Eyes looking towards the Country of *Attica*. Insomuch that there remain upon Record some Sayings of His, no way suitable to that Generosity and Bravery with which he used to express himself, when he had the Management of the Commonwealth. For as he was departing out of the City, it is reported, that he lifted up his Hands towards the *Acropolis*, and said, *O Goddess* Minerva, *how is it that thou takest Delight in three such fierce untractable Beasts, the Owl, the Dragon, and the People?* The young Men who came to visit and converse with him, he deterred from medling with State-Affairs, telling them, *that if at first two Ways had been proposed to him, the one leading to the Pulpit and the Assembly, the other directly tending to Destruction, and he could have foreseen the many Evils which attend Those who deal in publick Business, such as Fears, Envies, Calumnies, and Contentions, he would certainly have taken That which led straight on to his Death.*

But now whilst *Demosthenes* was in this kind of Banishment happened the Death of *Alexander*. And the *Græcians* were once again up in Arms, encouraged by the brave Attempts of *Leosthenes*, who was then drawing a Circumvallation about *Antipater*, whom he held close besieged in *Lamia*. *Pytheas* therefore the Orator, and *Callimedon* of *Carabia*, fled from *Athens*, and joining themselves with *Antipater*, went about with his Friends

and Ambaſſadors to keep the *Græcians* from revolting and taking Part with the *Athenians*. But on the other ſide, *Demoſthenes* aſſociating himſelf with the Ambaſſadors that came from *Athens*, uſed his utmoſt endeavours, and gave them his beſt Aſſiſtance, in perſuading the Cities to fall unanimouſly upon the *Macedonians*, and to drive them out of *Greece*. *Philarchus* ſays, that in *Arcadia* there happened ſuch a Rencounter between *Pytheas* and *Demoſthenes*, as came at laſt to downright railing, while the One pleaded for the *Macedonians*, and the Other for the *Græcians*. *Pytheas* is reported to have ſaid, *that as we always ſuppoſe there is ſome Diſeaſe in the Family in which they bring Aſſes Milk*; *ſo where-ever there comes an Embaſſy from* Athens, *that City muſt needs be indiſpoſed*; and that *Demoſthenes* retorted the Compariſon upon him, by ſaying, *That as Aſſes Milk is never carried into a Houſe but to reſtore it to Health, ſo the* Athenians *never ſend their Ambaſſadors to any City but on purpoſe to cure the Diſtempers, with which it is afflicted.* The People of *Athens* were ſo taken with the ſmartneſs of this Repartee, that they immediately paſſed a Decree for recalling him, which was drawn up by *Damon* the *Præanian*, Couſin-German to *Demoſthenes*. They ſent him a Ship to *Ægina*, and he landed at the Haven of *Piræus*, where he was met, and joyfully received by all the Citizens, not ſo much as an *Archon* or Prieſt ſtaying behind, And *Demetrius* the *Magneſian* ſays, that he lifted up his Hands towards Heaven, and bleſſed this Day of his happy Return, as far more honourable than that of *Alcibiades*; ſince He was recalled by his Countrymen, not through any Force or Conſtraint put upon them, but by their own Good-will and free Inclinations. There remained only his pecuniary Fine, which according to Law could not be remitted by the People. But they found out a Way to elude the Law. It was a Cuſtom with them to allow a certain Quantity of Silver to Thoſe who were to furniſh and adorn the Altar for the Sacrifice of *Jupiter Soter*. This Office for that turn they beſtowed on *Demoſthenes*, and for the Performance

of

of it ordered him fifty Talents, the very Sum in which he was condemned. But he did not long enjoy his Country after his Return, for the *Greeks* were intirely ruined ſoon after. They loſt the Battle at *Cranon* in *September*; the Garriſon entered into *Munychia* the *October* following, and in *November Demoſthenes* died after this Manner.

Upon the Report that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were coming to *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* with his Party took their Opportunity to eſcape privily out of the City; but at the Inſtance of *Demades* they were condemned by the People. They diſperſed themſelves, flying Some to one Place, Some to Another: And *Antipater* ſent about his Soldiers into all Quarters to apprehend them. *Archias* was their Captain, and was thence called φυγαδοθήρας, or the Exile-Hunter. He was a *Thurian* born, and is reported to have been an Actor of Tragedies; and they ſay that *Polus* of *Ægina*, the beſt Actor of his time, was his Scholar; but *Hermippus* reckons *Archias* among the Diſciples of *Lacritus* the Orator; and *Demetrius* ſays, he ſpent ſome time with *Anaximenes*. This *Archias* finding *Hyperides* the Orator, *Ariſtonicus* of *Marathon*, and *Himæreus* the Brother of *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* at *Ægina*, he took them by Force out of the Temple of *Ajax*, whither they were fled for ſafety, and ſent them to *Antipater* then at *Cleonæ*, where they were all put to Death. It is ſaid farther, that he cauſed *Hyperides*'s Tongue to be cut out. Being informed that *Demoſthenes* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*, he croſſed over thither in ſome light Veſſels, and as ſoon as he had landed with ſome *Thracian* Spear-men that came with him, he endeavoured to perſuade *Demoſthenes* to accompany him to *Antipater*, aſſuring him that he ſhould meet with no hard Uſage from him. But *Demoſthenes*, in his Sleep the Night before, had an odd unuſual Dream: It ſeemed to him that he was acting a Tragedy, and contended with *Archias* for the Victory; and though he acquitted himſelf well, and gave good Satisfaction to the Spectators, yet for want of bet-

I muſt here mention an Adventure which happened in my time a little before I went to *Athens*. A Soldier being ſummoned to appear before his ſuperior Officer, and to anſwer an Accuſation brought againſt him, put that little Gold which he had into the Hands of *Demoſthenes*'s Statue: The Fingers of this Statue were folded one within another, and near it grew a ſm[illegible]ane-Tree; from which many Leaves (either accident[illegible], blown thither by the Wind, or placed ſo on purpoſe by the Man himſelf) falling together, and lying round about the Gold, concealed it for a long time. At length the Soldier returned, and finding his Treaſure entire, the Fame of this Accident was ſpread abroad: And many of the Wits upon this Occaſion ſtrove to vindicate *Demoſthenes* from Corruption, in ſeveral Epigrams which they made on the ſame Subject.

As for *Demades*, he did not long enjoy the New Honours he had lately gotten; Divine Vengeance for the Death of *Demoſthenes* purſuing him into *Macedonia*; where he was juſtly put to Death by Thoſe very People Whom he had ſo baſely flattered. They were weary of him before, but at this time the Guilt he lay under was manifeſt and unavoidable: For ſome of his Letters were intercepted, in which he had encouraged *Perdiccas* to deliver *Greece* and to fall upon *Macedonia*; *who*, he ſaid, *hung only by an old rotten Thread*, (meaning *Antipater.*) Of This he was accuſed by *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, and *Caſſander* was ſo inraged, that he firſt ſlew his Son in his Boſom, and then gave order for His Execution. Thus by woful Experience, and his own moſt ſad Misfortunes, he was at length convinced, *That Traitors, who make ſale of their Country, ſell themſelves firſt of all.* A Truth which *Demoſthenes* had often foretold him, and which He would never believe. Thus, *Soſſius*, you have the Life of *Demoſthenes*, from ſuch Paſſages as we have either read or heard concerning him.

THE

# THE LIFE OF *Marcus Tullius Cicero.*

IT is generally ſaid, that *Helvia*, the Mother of *Cicero*, was both well Born, and lived in good Faſhion, but of his Father nothing is reported, but in extremes. For whilſt Some would have him the Son of a Fuller, and educated in that Trade, Others deduce the Original of his Family from *Tullus Attius*, an illuſtrious King of the *Volſci*: Howſoever He, who Firſt of that Houſe was ſurnamed *Cicero*, ſeems to have been a Perſon worthy to be remembered; becauſe They who ſucceeded him did not only not reject but were fond of that Name, tho' vulgarly made a Matter of Reproach. For the *Latins* call a Vetch *Cicer*, and a flat Excreſcence in the reſemblance of a Vetch on the tip of his Noſe, gave him the Surname of *Cicero*.

But this *Cicero*, whoſe Story I am writing, when ſome of his Friends adviſed him to lay aſide or change that Name when he firſt ſtood for a publick Office, and engaged in Affairs of State, anſwered them with a great deal of Spirit and Confidence, *That he would make it his utmoſt Endeavour to render the Name of* Cicero *more glorious than That of the* Scauri *and* Catulli; and therefore when being Queſtor of *Sicily* he made an Oblation of Silver

ver Plate to the Gods, and had inſcribed thereon the Initial Letters of his two Names *Marcus* and *Tullius*, inſtead of the Third he jocoſely commanded the Artificer to engrave the Figure of a *Vetch* inſtead of *Cicero*. Theſe things are related of his Name.

Of *Cicero*'s Birth it is reported, that his Mother was delivered without Pain or Labour, on the Third of the Nones of *January*, that Day on which at preſent the Magiſtrates of *Rome* Pray and Sacrifice for the Emperor; it is ſaid alſo that a Spectre appeared to his Nurſe, and foretold the Child ſhe then ſuckled ſhould afterwards become a great Benefit to the *Roman* State; which things would otherwiſe have appeared Dreams and Trifles, had he not Himſelf ſoon demonſtrated the Truth of the Prediction, for when he came to the Age of going to School, he was of ſuch eminent Pregnancy, and had ſuch Fame and Glory amongſt the Boys, that their Fathers would often viſit the School, that they Themſelves might behold *Cicero*, and be Eye-Witneſſes of that Quickneſs and Aptneſs in Learning for which he was ſo much celebrated; but the ruder ſort were angry with their Children, to ſee them, as they walked together, receive *Cicero* with reſpect into the middle place.

He was born as *Plato* would have the Scholar-like and Philoſophical Temper to be, for he was diſpoſed to all manner of Learning, and neglectful of no Art or Science, but at firſt had a more peculiar Propenſity to Poetry, and there is a Poem ſtill extant, made by him when a Boy, in *Tetrameter* Verſe, called *Pontius Glaucus*.

In progreſs of time, applying himſelf more generally to thoſe Studies, he became not only an excellent Orator but alſo one of the moſt eminent amongſt the *Roman* Poets; and the Glory of his *Rhetorick* ſtill remains, notwithſtanding the many new Modes in Speaking ſince his Time; but his Poetry is become wholly obſolete, and without Fame, by reaſon of ſo many excellent Poets who have ſince ſucceeded and ſurpaſſed him.

Leaving his Juvenile Studies, he became an Auditor of *Philo* the Academick, whom the *Romans*, above all the

the other Scholars of *Clitomachus*, admired for his Eloquence and loved for his pleaſant Converſation: He alſo applied himſelf to *Mutius Scævola*, an eminent Lawyer, and Prince of the Senate, under Whom he made a great Progreſs in the knowledge of the Laws.

For ſome time he ſerved in Arms under *Sylla* in the *Marſian* War, but perceiving the Commonwealth running into Factions, and from Faction all things tending to an abſolute Monarchy, he again betook himſelf to his retired and contemplative Life, and converſing with the Learned *Greeks* wholly applied to his Study, 'till *Sylla* had obtained the Government, and the Commonwealth was in ſome kind of ſettlement.

About this time *Sylla* having expoſed to Sale by Auction the Eſtate of a certain Citizen, who was killed, as if he had been proſcribed, and cauſing it to be adjudged to his emancipated Slave *Chryſogonus* for the Sum of two thouſand Drachmas, *Roſcius* the Son and Heir of the Deceaſed loudly complained of it, and made it plainly appear that what had thus been ſold for two thouſand Drachmas was honeſtly worth two hundred and fifty Talents. Hereupon *Sylla*, who took it hainouſly to have his Actions queſtioned, brought a Charge againſt *Roſcius* for the Murder of his Father; and appointed *Chryſogonus* to manage the Evidence.

There was not a Man had Courage enough to ſtand by this unhappy Gentleman, and appear in his Cauſe. It was an Office every one declined, out of the Fear they had of *Sylla*, and their Experience of his Cruelty.

He being thus deſerted, fled for Refuge to *Cicero*: His Friends encouraged him, as never being like again to have a fairer and more honourable Introduction to Glory; he therefore undertook the Defence, carried the Cauſe, and was admired for it.

But fearing *Sylla*'s Reſentment, he travelled into *Greece*, and gave out, that he did it in order to his Health: And indeed he was ſo lean and meagre, and had ſuch a Weakneſs in his Stomach; that he could take down nothing but a ſpare and thin Diet, and That not

not 'till late in the Evening: His Voice was loud and good, but ſo harſh and unmanaged, that in vehemence and heat of ſpeaking, he always raiſed it to ſo high a Tone, that there was reaſon to fear the endangering of his Body by it.

When he came to *Athens* he was an Auditor of *Antiochus* the *Aſcolonite*, being taken with the Volubility and Elegance of his Speech, altho' he did not approve the Novelty of his Opinions: For *Antiochus* had now fallen off from the New Academy, as they call it, and forſaken the Sect of *Carneades*, either moved by clear Conviction and the evidence of Senſe, or, as Some ſay, through Ambition and Oppoſition to the Followers of *Climachus* and *Philo*, and had changed his Opinion, in moſt things embracing the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*. But *Cicero* rather affected and adhered to theſe Doctrines of the New Academy; reſolving with himſelf if he could get no publick Employment in the Commonwealth, to retire thither from Pleading and Political Affairs, and to paſs his Life with Quiet in the Study of Philoſophy.

But after he had received the News of *Sylla*'s Death, and his Body, ſtrengthned by Exerciſe, was come to a vigorous habit, his Voice managed and render'd ſweet and full to the Ear, and pretty well fitted to the Diſpoſition of his Body, his Friends at *Rome* earneſtly ſoliciting him by Letters, and *Antiochus* as much perſuading him to return to publick Affairs, he again applied himſelf to Rhetorick, as the proper Inſtrument of a Stateſman; and re-excited his Political Faculty, both diligently exerciſing himſelf in Declamations, and frequenting the celebrated Orators of that time.

This induced him to travel into *Aſia*, and to *Rhodes*; amongſt the *Aſian* Rhetoricians he converſed with *Xenocles* of *Adramyttus*, *Dionyſius* of *Magneſia*, and *Menippus* of *Caria*; and at *Rhodes* he ſtudied under *Apollonius Molon* the Rhetorician, and *Poſſidonius* the Philoſopher.

It is reported, that *Apollonius* not underſtanding the *Roman* Language, deſired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*, and that

that he readily obeyed him, as knowing it the beſt way to have his Defects amended: After he had ended his Declamation, Others were aſtoniſhed, and mutually contended in Praiſe of the Orator; but *Apollonius*, as he had diſcovered no great Tranſport whilſt he heard him, ſo when he had done, he ſat muſing with himſelf ſome conſiderable time; at which *Cicero* being diſturbed, he ſaid unto him, *Thee, O* Cicero, *I praiſe and admire, but I pity the Fortune of* Greece, *when I ſee Arts and Eloquence, the only Ornaments that were left her, by Thee tranſported to the* Romans.

And now when *Cicero*, full of Expectation, was again bent upon Political Affairs, a certain Oracle blunted the Edge of his Inclination; for conſulting the God at *Delphi* how he ſhould arrive at the top of Glory, the *Pythia* anſwered, *By making his own Genius, and not the Opinion of the People, the Guide of his Life*; and therefore at firſt he paſſed his Time in *Rome* cautiouſly, and was very backward in pretending to publick Offices, ſo that he was at that time in little eſteem, and had got the Names of *Greek* and *Scholar*, the uſual terms of Reproach, which the meaneſt Mechanicks and Dregs of the People had in their Mouths upon all Occaſions.

But being by Nature very deſirous of Fame, and by his Father and Relations alſo incited thereto, he applied himſelf to Pleading, in which he arrived at an Eminence, not by gentle and ſlow degrees, but on a ſudden his Glory ſhone forth, and he far ſurpaſſed all the Advocates at the Bar.

At firſt it is ſaid he was, as well as *Demoſthenes*, very defective in Action, and therefore he diligently applied himſelf ſometimes to *Roſcius* the Comedian, and ſometimes to *Æſop* the Tragedian.

They report of this *Æſop*, that whilſt he was repreſenting on the Theatre *Atreus* deliberating in what manner he ſhould Revenge himſelf on *Thyeſtes*, he was ſo tranſported beyond himſelf in the heat of Action, that with his Truncheon he ſmote one of his Servants haſtily croſſing the Stage, and laid him dead upon the Place.

And

And ſuch afterwards was *Cicero*'s Action, that it did not a little contribute to render his Eloquence perſuaſive; wherefore deriding the Orators of his time, who knew no other way to touch the Hearers but by making a great Noiſe, he ſaid, *It was want of Ability to ſpeak that made them bawl, as lame Men who cannot walk are forced to get on Horſeback.*

And indeed his facetious Humour in jeering and jeſting ſeemed very proper and delightful at the Bar, but his uſing it to exceſs offended Many, and gave him the repute of ill Manners.

He was appointed *Queſtor* in a great Scarcity of Corn, and had *Sicily* for his Province, where tho' at firſt he diſpleaſed Some, by compelling them to ſend in their Proviſions to *Rome*; yet after they had had experience of his Care, Juſtice, and Clemency, they Honoured him more than ever they had done any of their Governors before.

Not long after ſome young Men of good and noble Families, charged with Diſorder and Diſſoluteneſs againſt Martial Diſcipline, were ſent back from *Rome* to the Pretor of *Sicily*; but *Cicero* ſo excellently managed their Defence, that he got them all diſcharged.

Returning to *Rome* with a great Opinion of himſelf for theſe things, he Himſelf tells us a pleaſant Accident befel him on the Road; for lighting on an eminent Citizen of *Rome* in *Campania*, whom he accounted his Friend, and aſking him what the *Romans* ſaid and thought of his Actions, as if the whole City had been filled with the Noiſe and Glory of what he had done, he anſwered, *Why* Cicero, *where haſt thou been all this time?* It ſtruck him dead at Heart, to perceive that the Report of his Actions was fallen into the City of *Rome* as into an immenſe Ocean, without any return of publick Glory. And therefore afterwards conſidering with himſelf, that the Glory he contended for was an infinite thing, and that there was neither End nor Meaſure in ſuch Purſuits, he abated much of his Ambitious Thoughts; Yet nevertheleſs, he was exceſſively pleaſed with

with his own Praiſe, and continued to the very laſt moſt paſſionately deſirous of Glory; which often interrupted the Proſecution of his wiſeſt Reſolutions.

Applying himſelf more reſolutely to publik Buſineſs, he accounted it an abſurd thing, that Artificers uſing Veſſels and Inſtruments inanimate, ſhould know the Name, Place, and Uſe of every one of them; and yet the Stateſman, who manageth publick Affairs by Men, ſhould be negligent and careleſs in the Knowledge of Perſons and Things relating to the Commonwealth; and therefore he not only acquainted himſelf with the Names, but alſo knew the particular Place where every one of the more eminent Citizens dwelt, what Lands he poſſeſſed, the Friends he made uſe of, and Thoſe who were of his Neighbourhood; and when he travelled the Road in any Parts of *Italy*, he could readily name and ſhew the Eſtates and Seats of his Friends.

Having ſo ſmall an Eſtate, tho' a ſufficient Competency for his own Expences, it was much wondered that he took neither Fees nor Gifts from his Clients, which Self-denial appeared more eſpecially in the Proſecution he undertook againſt *Verres*. This *Verres* had been Pretor of *Sicily*, where he committed many horrible Crimes and Exactions, and the *Sicilians* being come to *Rome* in order to proſecute him, *Cicero* cauſed him to be condemned, not by ſpeaking, but in a manner by holding his Tongue. For the Majority of the Judges favouring *Verres*, had deferred the Trial by ſeveral Adjournments to the laſt Day; whereupon *Cicero*, who ſaw there could not be ſufficient Time for the Advocates to be heard, nor to bring the Cauſe to an Iſſue, roſe up, and ſaid, there was no need of Speeches; and therefore producing and examining Witneſſes, he required the Judges to proceed to Sentence.

And yet there are many pleaſant things ſaid to be ſpoken by *Cicero* in this Cauſe. As when an emancipated Slave, by Name *Cecilius*, ſuſpected of the *Jewiſh* Religion, would have put by the *Sicilians*, and undertaken the Proſecution of *Verres* Himſelf, *Cicero* ſaid,

*But what has a* Jew *to do with Swines Fleſh?* For the *Romans* call a gelt Pig, *Verres*. *Verres* reproaching *Cicero* for Effeminacy, he replied, *you ſhould have given this Reproach to your own Children*; for *Verres* had a Son, a pretty Boy, who was ſuppoſed baſely to proſtitute his Beauty. *Hortenſius* the Orator not daring directly to undertake the Defence of *Verres*, was yet perſuaded to appear for him at the laying on of the Fine, and received an Ivory *Sphinx* for his Reward: *Cicero* in ſome Paſſage of his Speech obliquely reflecting on him, *Hortenſius* told him *he was not ſkilful in ſolving Riddles*; *No!* ſays *Cicero*, *and yet you have a* Sphinx *at home*.

*Verres* being thus condemned, and *Cicero* ſetting the Fine but at Seventy five Myriads, he lay under the Suſpicion of Bribery to leſſen the Sum. But yet the *Sicilians* in Teſtimony of their Gratitude, ſent and brought him many Preſents from that Iſle when he was *Ædile*; of which he made no private Gain for himſelf, but made uſe of their Generoſity to bring down the Price of Proviſions.

He had a very pleaſant Seat in the Territory of *Arpi*, a Farm near *Naples*, and Another near *Pompeii*, but Neither of any great Value. The Portion of his Wife *Terentia* amounted to Twelve Myriads, and his own Inheritance was computed to Nine Myriads of *Denarii*; on this he lived freely and temperately, with the learned *Greeks* and *Romans* who were his Familiars. He rarely if at any time ſat down to Meat 'till Sun-ſet, and That not ſo much for Buſineſs, as for his Health and the Weakneſs of his Stomach. He was otherwiſe in the care of his Body nice and delicate, inſomuch that he uſed himſelf to a ſet number of Walks and Rubbings; and after this manner managing the Habit of his Body, he brought it in time to be healthful, and able to endure great Fatigue and Labour.

He made over his paternal Seat to his Brother, but he Himſelf dwelt near Mount *Palatine*, that he might not give the trouble of long Journeys to Thoſe who made ſuit to him; and indeed there were not fewer daily ap-

rearing

pearing at his Door, to do their Court to Him, than did to *Craſſus* for his Riches, or to *Pompey* for his Power amongſt the Soldiers, the moſt admired and greateſt Men of *Rome* at that time. Yea *Pompey* Himſelf paid Obſervance to *Cicero*, and *Cicero*'s Power in the Commonwealth conferred much to the Increaſe of the Authority and Glory of *Pompey*. When many and great Competitors ſtood with him for the Pretor's Office, he was choſen before them All, and managed the Deciſion of Cauſes with great Juſtice and Integrity. It is reported that *Licinius Macer*, a Man Himſelf of great Power in the City, and ſupported alſo by the Aſſiſtance of *Craſſus* was accuſed before him of Extortion, and that in Confidence of his own Intereſt, and the Diligence of his Friends, whilſt the Judges were debating about the Sentence, he went to his own Houſe, where haſtily trimming himſelf, and putting on a white Gown, as already acquitted, he returned again towards the Court; but *Craſſus* meeting him in the Porch, and telling him, that he was condemned by general Suffrage, he went home, threw himſelf upon his Bed, and died immediately: This Sentence gave much Reputation to *Cicero* for his reſolution to act uprightly. There was another Perſon named *Vatinius*, of a ſurly Temper, who uſed to behave himſelf irreverently at the Bar, and had his Neck ſwoln with ſcrophulous Humours. This Man one day accoſted *Cicero* as he was upon the Bench, and demanded ſome Favour of the Court; whilſt *Cicero* was demurring upon it, and doubting with himſelf whether it ſhould be granted, or not, he told him *I wou'd not beſitate ſo long upon it if I was Pretor*, when *Cicero* turning towards him replied, *but my Neck is not ſo thick as yours*.

When there were but two or three Days remaining in his Office, *Manilius* was brought before him, and charged with Extortion. Now this *Manilius* had the good Opinion and Favour of the common People, and was thought to be proſecuted only for *Pompey*'s Sake, whoſe particular Friend he was; and therefore, when he had aſked a ſet time for his Trial, and *Cicero* had allowed him

but one Day, and That the next only, the common People grew highly offended, becauſe it had been the Cuſtom of the Pretors to allow ten Days at leaſt to the Accuſed. The next Day the Tribunes cited *Cicero* to appear before the People, accuſed him of Prevarication, and required him to anſwer to the Charge; whereupon deſiring to be heard, he ſaid, *that as he had always uſed the Accuſed with Humanity and Indulgence, as far as the Law allowed, ſo he thought it hard to deny the Same to* Manilius, *for which reaſon he had ſtudiouſly appointed that Day, of which only, as* Pretor, *he was Maſter; and that it was not the part of Thoſe who were deſirous to help him, to caſt the Judgment of his Cauſe upon another* Pretor. Theſe words made a wonderful change in the minds of the People, who highly commended him for his Good-will, and deſired that He himſelf would undertake the Defence of *Manilius*, which he willingly conſented to, and that principally for the ſake of *Pompey*, who was abſent, and therefore ſtating the Caſe, and making a Deduction of the whole Affair in an Oration, he inveighed in ſtrong Terms againſt Thoſe who adhered to the Intereſt of the Oligarchy, and envied *Pompey*.

Yet he was preferred to the Conſulſhip no leſs by the Good-will and Favour of the Nobility than of the Common People; both the One and the Other uniting their Intereſts, and acting in concert for the obtaining that Dignity to be conferred upon him for the good of the Publick. The change of Government made by *Sylla*, which at firſt ſeemed intolerable, by Time and Uſage did now appear to the People no ill way of Settlement; there were indeed Some who endeavoured to alter and ſubvert the preſent State of Affairs, but more for their own private Gain than the publick Good.

*Pompey* being at this time employed in the War againſt the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, there wanted ſufficient Force at *Rome* to ſuppreſs Thoſe who affected Change in the Commonwealth: Theſe had for their Head *Lucius Catiline*, a Man of a bold, enterpriſing, and reſtleſs Spirit, ſo crafty and deſigning, that he could with

with the greateſt Eaſe aſſume what Character, and put on what Shape he pleaſed. Beſides many other great Offences, he was accuſed of an inceſtuous Commerce with his own Daughter, and of killing his own Brother, and to prevent his being called to Account for it he perſuaded *Sylla* to put him in the Liſt of Thoſe who were proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill living. Thoſe Profligates having got ſuch a Captain to head them, united themſelves under the ſtrongeſt Engagements, and in order more firmly to cement and perfect this Union, they ſacrificed a Man, and every one of them eat of the Fleſh of the Sacrifice.

*Catiline* had already corrupted the greateſt Part of the *Roman* Youth, by procuring for them every Day new Pleaſures, ſupplying them with Women, and Money to anſwer the Expence of their conſtant Riots aud Debauches. All *Etruria* was in a Diſpoſition to revolt, and a great part of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, but *Rome* itſelf was in the moſt dangerous Inclination to Change, by reaſon of the unequal Diſtribution of the Wealth of that Place, for Perſons of the greateſt Honour and Spirit had made themſelves poor by Shews, Entertainments, Ambition of Offices, and Sumptuous Buildings, whereby the Riches of the City were fallen into the Hands of mean and deſpicable Perſons; and by theſe means Affairs were brought to that paſs that it was in the Power of every daring Man to overturn a ſickly Commonwealth.

But *Catiline* being farther deſirous of ſtrengthening himſelf, in order to the favouring of his Deſigns, ſet up for the Conſulſhip, and was in great hopes of having *Caius Antonius* for his Colleague; a Man, of himſelf, neither a fit Leader for the beſt nor worſt Deſigns, but ſuch a one as might make a good Acceſſion to the Power of Another, who ſhould have the Conduct of him. The beſt and ſoundeſt part of the Citizens foreſeeing this Danger, preſt *Cicero* to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, and the People ſupporting his Pretenſions with great Zeal and Chearfulneſs, *Catiline* miſcarried, and *Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were returned Conſuls, though amongſt all the

Competitors *Cicero* was the only Man deſcended from a Father of the *Equeſtrian*, and not of the *Patrician* Order.

Tho' the Deſigns of *Catiline* were not yet publickly known; yet many previous Commotions immediately followed upon *Cicero*'s Entrance upon the Conſulſhip. For on the one ſide, They who by the Laws of *Sylla* were incapable of any publick Offices, being neither inconſiderable in Power nor Number, ſtood and careſſed the People for them; and it muſt be confeſſed that they alledged many things againſt the Violence and Tyranny of *Sylla*, which were in reality very juſt and true, but they were then urged at an improper and unſeaſonable time, and tended only to embroil and diſtreſs the Government: On the other ſide, the Tribunes of the People propoſed Laws which had a view to the ſame thing; for they were for conſtituting a *Decemvirate* with unaccountable Power; with Whom, as Lords, ſhould be the Right of ſelling the publick Lands of all *Italy* and *Syria*, and whatſoever *Pompey* had newly conquered, of judging and baniſhing whom they pleaſed, and of planting Colonies, of taking Monies out of the Treaſury, and of levying and paying what Soldiers ſhould be thought needful. This exorbitant Power made ſeveral of the Nobility, eſpecially *C. Antonius*, *Cicero*'s Collegue, favour the Law, in hopes of being one of the Ten. It was moreover thought that he was no Stranger to *Catiline*'s Deſigns, nor averſe to them, becauſe he was involved in Debt, and had no other way left to diſengage himſelf; and This ſerved to augment the Fears of all Thoſe who were Wellwiſhers to their Country.

*Cicero* endeavouring in the firſt place to provide a Remedy againſt this Danger, got the Province of *Macedonia* to be decreed to *Antonius*, and relinquiſhed *Gaul*, which had been allotted to Himſelf. This great piece of Service ſo wrought upon *Antonius*, that he had him at his Beck upon all Occaſions, like a hired Player, he found him always ready to ſecond him for the good of his Country. When he had made him thus tame and tractable, *Cicero* with greater Courage attacked the Af-

fectors

fectors of Innovation; and therefore making an Oration in full Senate againſt this new Law of the *Decemvirate*, contended for by the Tribunes, he ſo confounded Thoſe who had propoſed it, that they had nothing to reply. Notwithſtanding all This, the Tribunes could not be brought to give over their Deſign, but had recourſe to a new Expedient. They ſummoned the Conſuls to appear before the People, at which *Cicero* was ſo far from being alarmed, that ordering the Senate to attend him, and preſenting himſelf to the People at the Head of that illuſtrious Body, he not only carried it to have that Law rejected, but put the Tribunes out of all Hopes of ſucceeding in ſome other Points they had in Agitation, ſuch an Aſcendant had he over them by the Power of his Eloquence. For of all the Orators He was the Perſon who moſt clearly demonſtrated to the *Romans*, how great a reliſh Eloquence gives to That which is good, and how invincible a juſt Propoſal is, if it be well ſpoken; and that it is neceſſary for Him, who would dextrouſly govern a Commonwealth, in Action always to prefer That which is honeſt before That which is popular; and in Speaking, to ſeparate That which is offenſive, from That which is convenient. We have a ſtrong Inſtance of the Perſuaſiveneſs of his Eloquence, in an Accident which fell out during his Conſulate in the Theatre. Before his time the *Roman* Knights were placed promiſcuouſly in the Theatre among the Common People. *Otho* in his Pretorſhip was the Firſt who in honour to that Order diſtinguiſhed them from the other Citizens, and appointed them a proper Seat, which they ſtill enjoy. This the common People took as an Indignity done to Them; and therefore one day when *Otho* appeared in the Theatre, they in reproach hiſſed him; the Knights on the contrary received him with loud clapping; the People repeated and increaſed their hiſſing, the Knights continued and increaſed their clapping; upon This turning upon one another, they fell to Reproaches, ſo that the Theatre was in great Diſorder: *Cicero* being informed of it came thither in Perſon, and ſummoning

ſummoning the People into the Temple of *Bellona*, he reproved them in ſuch ſtrong terms, and ſo effectually remonſtrated the Caſe to them, that they returned immediately into the Theatre, clapped *Otho*, and contended with the Knights who ſhould give him the greateſt Demonſtrations of Honour and Reſpect.

In the mean time *Catiline*'s Accomplices, who were at firſt alarmed and intimidated, began to take Heart, and aſſembling themſelves together, they exhorted one another more boldly to undertake the Deſign before *Pompey*'s Return, who, as it was ſaid, was now on his March toward *Rome* with all his Forces. But That, which chiefly haſtened and excited *Catiline*, were the *Veteran* Soldiers, who had ſerved under *Sylla*, and were now diſperſed throughout *Italy*, but the greateſt Numbers of them, and the moſt valiant and experienced were quartered up and down in *Tuſcany*, dreaming of new Plunder, and being already in their Imaginations Maſters of all the Riches of *Italy*. Theſe having for their Leader an Officer named *Manlius*, who had eminently ſerved in the Wars under *Sylla*, joined themſelves to *Catiline*, and came to *Rome* to aſſiſt him with their Suffrages at the Election: For he again pretended to the Conſulſhip, having reſolved to kill *Cicero* in the Tumult of the Aſſembly.

It looked as if ſome God did by Earthquakes, Thunders, and Spectres foretel the Deſign; and there were alſo Intimations from Men concerning it, true enough in themſelves, tho' not ſufficient for the Conviction of a Perſon ſo noble and powerful as *Catiline*: Wherefore *Cicero* deferring the Day of Election, conven'd *Catiline* into the Senate, and there examined him of thoſe things that were reported. *Catiline* believing there were Many in the Senate deſirous of Change, and to give a Specimen of himſelf to the Conſpirators preſent, anſwered with a gentle Hypocriſy: *What Harm do I do*, ſaid he, *if of two Bodies, the one Lean and Conſumptive with a Head, the other great and ſtrong without one, I put a Head to that Body which wants it.* Theſe things being Enigmatically ſpoken of the Senate and People, *Cicero* was the more afraid. Wherefore,

Wherefore, when the Day of Election came, he armed himſelf with a Coat of Mail, and was conducted from his own Houſe into the *Campus Martius* by the moſt eminent of the Citizens, and almoſt all the Youth of *Rome*. There he deſignedly threw aſide his upper Garment, and expoſed his Coat of Mail to publick View, that All might be ſenſible of the Danger he was in. The Sight of it immediately irritated the People to a high degree, and made them gather round about him for his Security and Defence. In ſhort, when they came to give in their Votes, *Catiline* met with a ſecond Repulſe, and *Silanus* and *Murena* were choſen Conſuls.

Not long after This, when *Catiline*'s Soldiers were got together in a Body in *Etruria*, the Day appointed for the Deſign being near at hand; Three of the principal and moſt powerful Citizens of *Rome*, *Marcus Craſſus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*, went in the dead of the Night to *Cicero*'s Houſe, where knocking at the Gate, and calling up the Porter, they commanded him to awake *Cicero*, and tell him they were there. The Buſineſs was This; *Craſſus*'s Porter after Supper had delivered him Letters brought by an unknown Perſon: Some of them were directed to Others, but One to *Craſſus* without a Name: this only *Craſſus* read, which informed him, that there was a great Slaughter intended by *Catiline*, and adviſed him to leave the City: The Others he did not open; but went with them immediately to *Cicero*, being affrighted at the Danger, and to free himſelf of the Suſpicion he lay under for his Familiarity with *Catiline*. *Cicero* having conſidered with Them what was proper to be done, ſummoned the Senate at break of Day. When the Fathers were met he delivered the Letters to Thoſe to whom they were directed, commanding them to read them publickly. They were All to the ſame Purpoſe, containing an Account of the Conſpiracy.

When *Quintus Arrius*, a Man of Pretorian Dignity, had declared that there was a Riſing in *Etruria*; and that *Manlius* was ſaid to be hovering about the Cities in thoſe

thoſe Parts with a great Force, in Expectation of an Inſurrection in *Rome*; the Senate paſſed a Decree, by which all Affairs were referred to the Conſuls, who were thereby veſted with full Authority to act as they ſhould ſee Cauſe for the Publick Safety, and to provide againſt any Damage that might befal the Commonwealth. This was a Step ſeldom or never taken by the Senate, but in times of imminent Danger. After *Cicero* had received this Power, he committed all Affairs abroad to *Q. Metellus*, but kept the Care and Government of the City in his own Hands. Such a numerous Attendance guarded him every Day he went abroad, that the *Forum* was hardly capable to contain Thoſe who followed him. *Catiline*, impatient of further Delay, reſolved Himſelf to fly to *Manlius*'s Camp; but commanded *Marcius* and *Cethegus* to go early in the Morning to *Cicero*'s Gates, as if only intending to ſalute him, and then to fall upon him and ſlay him. A Lady of the firſt Quality in *Rome*, named *Fulvia*, went by Night to *Cicero*, informed him of the Danger he was in, and adviſed him to beware of *Cethegus* and his Accomplice. Theſe Aſſaſſines were at the Gate early in the Morning, and being refuſed Admittance, they ſtormed at the Porter, and grew very noiſy, which rendered them ſtill the more ſuſpected.

*Cicero* going out at the uſual Hour with his conſtant Attendants, ſummoned the Senate to meet in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, ſeated on the Top of the Holy Street, which goeth up to the Capitol. *Catiline* made his Appearance there among the reſt, in order to juſtify himſelf, but none of the Senators would ſit by him; but all of them left that Bench where he had placed himſelf, and when he began to ſpeak interrupted him, ſo that he could not be heard.

At length *Cicero* ſtanding up commanded him to leave the City; *for ſince One governed the Commonwealth with Words only, and the Other with Arms, it was neceſſary there ſhould be a Wall betwixt them: Catiline* therefore immediately left the Town, being attended with three hundred armed Men; and taking to himſelf, as a Magiſtrate,

giſtrate, the Rods, Axes, and other Enſigns of Authority, he went to *Manlius*, and having got together a Body of near twenty thouſand Men, he marched to the ſeveral Cities, endeavouring to perſuade or force them to revolt. The War being thus begun *Antonius* was ſent forth to fight him.

All thoſe, who had been corrupted, and remained in the City, aſſembled together, and were animated by *Cornelius Lentulus* Surnamed *Sura*, a Man of a noble Family, but a diſſolute Liver, and who for his Debauchery had been formerly expelled the Senate. He was then the ſecond time Prætor, as the Cuſtom was when ejected Perſons were putting themſelves in a way to be reſtored to the Honour they had forfeited. It is ſaid that he got the Surname of *Sura* upon this Occaſion: Whilſt he was Queſtor under *Sylla*, he laviſhed away and conſumed a great Quantity of the publick Monies, at which *Sylla* being provoked called upon him to give an Account of the Sums that had been remitted to him, in full Senate. *Lentulus* behaved himſelf with the greateſt Indifference, by which it appeared that he was not much ſtartled at the Demand, and told him, *that he had no Account to give in, but that he preſented him with the Calf of his Leg*; as it was coſtomary among Boys to do when they make a Default at Ball; upon which he was Surnamed *Sura*, for the *Romans* call the Calf of the Leg *Sura*.

Being at another time proſecuted at Law, and corrupting the Majority of the Judges, and eſcaping by two Suffrages only, he complained *that what he had given to One of thoſe two Judges was juſt ſo much Money loſt, becauſe one Suffrage would have been ſufficient to have abſolved him.*

This Man, ſuch a one in his own Nature, and incenſed by *Catiline*, the falſe Prophets and Magicians had alſo corrupted with vain Hopes, inchanting him with fictitious Verſes and Oracles, and demonſtrating from the Sibylline Prophecies, *that there were Three of the Nnme of* Cornelius *deſign'd by Fate to be Monarchs of* Rome;

Rome; *Two of Whom,* Cinna *and* Sylla, *had already fulfilled the fatal Decree, and that the Gods were now coming to offer the Monarchy to the Third* Cornelius, *who ought by all Means to lay hold of it, and not loſe his Opportunity by Delay, as* Catiline *had done.*

*Lentulus* therefore deſigned no mean or trivial Matters, for he had reſolved to kill the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as he could, to fire the City, and ſpare no body but only *Pompey*'s Children, intending to ſeize and keep Them as Pledges of his Reconciliation with their Father: For even then the Report ran current, that *Pompey* was returning from his glorious Expedition. The Night appointed for the Deſign was the firſt of the *Saturnalia*. They had already lodged Swords, Flax, and Sulphur in the Houſe of *Cethegus*, and providing one hundred Men, and dividing the City into as many Parts, they had allotted to every one ſingly his proper Place, ſo that in a Moment Many kindling the Fire, the City might be in a Flame all together; Others were appointed to guard the Aqueducts, and to kill ſuch as ſhould fetch Water from thence to quench it.

Whilſt theſe Things were preparing, it hapned that there were two Ambaſſadors from the *Allobroges* then reſident at *Rome*, a Nation at that time in a diſtreſſed Condition, and very uneaſy under the *Roman* Government: Theſe *Lentulus* and his Party adjudging uſeful Inſtruments to move and ſeduce *Gaul* to revolt, admitted into the Conſpiracy, and gave them Letters to their own Magiſtrates, containing a Promiſe of Liberty to their Nation. At the ſame time they wrote to *Catiline*, exhorting him to ſet all the Slaves at Liberty, to liſt them, and march to *Rome* with all Expedition. Theſe Letters were committed to the care of *Titus* a *Crotonian*, who was diſpatched at the ſame time with the Ambaſſadors, and ordered to deliver them ſafe to *Catiline*. But all theſe Plots and Contrivances being the Undertakings of raſh and inconſiderate Men, who never conſulted upon their Affairs but in their Cups, and in Company with Women, were ſoon unravelled by *Cicero*, who with extraordinary

traordinary Care and conſummate Prudence kept a conſtant Eye upon them; beſides which he had his Emiſſaries in every Quarter of the City, who watched all their Motions, dogged them where-ever they went, and made a Report to Him of all their Proceedings. He had moreover ſecret Conferences in the Night with Many of Thoſe who were thought to be engaged in the Conſpiracy, of whom he had made ſure, and by whom he was informed of all the Diſcourſes which had paſſed betwixt Them and the Strangers. Upon this Information he planted an Ambuſh in the Night-time, and ſecured the *Crotonian* with all his Letters, the Ambaſſadors Themſelves being aſſiſtant to him, and in Correſpondence with him. By break of Day he ſummoned the Senate into the Temple of *Concord*, where he read the Letters and examined the Diſcoverers.

One of the Senators, named *Junius Silanus*, depoſed that Several had heard *Cethegus* ſay, that three Conſuls and four Prætors were to be maſſacred; *Piſo* alſo, a Perſon of Conſular Dignity, teſtified other Matters of the like Nature; and *Caius Sulpicius*, one of the Prætors, being ſent to *Cethegus*'s Houſe, found there a great Quantity of Arrows, Arms, Swords and Daggers, all newly furbiſhed: At length the Senate decreeing Indemnity to the *Crotonian*, upon Diſcovery of the whole matter, *Lentulus* was convicted, abjured his Office, (for he was then Prætor) and put off his Robe edged with Purple in the Senate, changing it for another Garment more agreeable to his preſent Circumſtance: He thereupon, with the reſt of his Confederates preſent, was committed to the Prætors whoſe houſes were made uſe of for their Priſons.

As it grew late, and the People were all crowding about the Gate, *Cicero* at laſt went out to them, and declared publickly all that had been tranſacting. After This the People, in honour to him, conducted him to the Houſe of one of his Friends, his Own being taken up by the Women, who were then celebrating with ſecret Rites the Feſtival of the Goddeſs, whom the *Romans* call *Bona*, or *the Good*, the *Greeks Gunæcea*; for

a Sacrifice was annually performed to her in the Conſul's Houſe, either by his Wife or Mother, in the Preſence of the Veſtal Virgins.

*Cicero* being got to his Friend's Houſe, where a Few only were preſent, began to deliberate with Himſelf how he ought to deal with the Priſoners; the ſevereſt Puniſhment, and ſuch indeed as was fit for ſo great Crimes, he was afraid, and ſhy of executing, as well from the Clemency of his Nature, as alſo leſt he ſhould be thought to exerciſe his Authority too inſolently, and to treat too rudely Men of the Nobleſt Birth and moſt powerful Friendſhips in the City; and yet if he ſhould uſe them more mildly, he had a dreadful Proſpect of Danger from them, for there was no likelihood, if they ſuffered leſs than Death, they would be reconciled to him, but rather adding new Rage to their former Wickedneſs, break forth into all manner of Inſolence, whilſt He Himſelf ſhould gain thereby the Repute of a cowardly and timorous Perſon, upon other Accounts not thought over-valiant by the Vulgar. Whilſt *Cicero* was doubting what Courſe to take in theſe matters, a portentous Accident happened amongſt the Women as they were Sacrificing in his Houſe; for on the Altar where the Fire ſeemed wholly extinguiſhed, a great and bright Flame iſſued forth from the Aſhes of the burnt Wood, at which Others were afrighted; but the holy Virgins called to *Terentia*, *Cicero*'s Wife, and bid her haſte to her Husband, and command him to execute what he had reſolved for the Good of his Country; for the Goddeſs had aſſured him that he ſhould effect what he had deſigned, not only with great Safety, but with much Honour and Glory. *Terentia* therefore, as ſhe was otherwiſe in her own Nature neither pitiful nor timorous, but an ambitious Woman, (who, as *Cicero* himſelf ſaith, would rather thruſt herſelf into His Publick Affairs, than communicate her Domeſtick to Him) told him theſe things, and incenſed him againſt the Conſpirators; the Same did alſo *Quintus* his Brother, and *Publius Nigridius*, one of his Companions in Philoſophy, whom he often made uſe of in his greateſt and moſt weighty Affairs of State.

The

The next Day, a Debate arising in the Senate about the Punishment of these Men, *Silanus* being the first who was asked his Opinion, said, *It was fit they should be all sent to Prison, and there suffer the utmost Penalty*; to Him All consented in order 'till it came to *Caius Cæsar*, who was afterwards Dictator. He was then very young, and was just beginning to lay the Foundations of his future Advancement, directing all his Hopes and Politicks to those Ends, by which he afterwards introduced a thorough Change in the Government. His Views and Designs were then known to Few. *Cicero* was the only Person who suspected him, but he took care to act so cautiously, as never to give him Proof sufficient to convict him, tho' Many affirm he was within a Hair's Breadth, and that he escaped very narrowly. Others were of Opinion that *Cicero* voluntarily overlooked and neglected the Evidence against him, for fear of his Friends and Power; for it was very evident to every Body, that these Friends would be rather a Means of *Cæsar*'s Escape, than the detection of *Cæsar*'s Guilt an occasion of their Punishment: When therefore it came to *Cæsar*'s Turn to give his Opinion, he stood up, and declared, that *He was not for having the Conspirators put to Death. His Opinion was that their Estates should be confiscated, and their Persons confined to such Prisons as should be appointed by the Consul, 'till* Catiline *was intirely defeated.* To this Sentence, being the most moderate, and He that deliver'd it a most powerful Speaker, *Cicero* Himself gave no small weight; for he stood up, and declared, that the first Part of *Silanus*'s Advice, and the latter of *Cæsar*'s ought to be followed. And all the Consul's Friends judging he would be less exposed to Resentment and Calumny if the Conspirators were not put to Death, adhered to *Cæsar*; insomuch that *Silanus* himself retracted his Opinion, and explained himself by saying, *that by the utmost Penalty he did not mean Death but Imprisonment, which was the highest Punishment that could be inflicted on a Senator.* *Cæsar* having given His Sentence, *Catulus Luctatius* was the first who contradicted it; Him *Cato* seconded, and in his

Oration caſt ſuch a vehement Suſpicion upon *Cæſar*, and ſo filled the Senate with Anger and Reſolution, that a Decree was paſſed for the Execution of the Conſpirators; but *Cæſar* oppoſed the Confiſcation of their Goods, maintaining, *that it was not fit that They who had rejected the mildeſt part of his Sentence, ſhould make uſe of the ſevereſt.* When he perceived that he was herein oppoſed by the Majority of the Senate he appealed to the Tribunes, but when they refuſed to interfere, *Cicero* Himſelf acquieſced, and remitted that Part of the Sentence. After This *Cicero* went at the Head of the Senate to the ſeveral Places where the Priſoners were detained; for they were not All confined in one Priſon, but lay diſperſed, every Prætor having One of them in his Cuſtody. He went firſt to *Lentulus*, becauſe He was confined in a Houſe on Mount *Palatine*, and conducting him along the Holy Way, carried him croſs the *Forum*. He was attended by the principal Men in the City, who ſerved as his Body Guard, and a Crowd of People who followed in profound Silence, trembling with Horror at what was executing. The young Men eſpecially regarded this Ceremony with Fear and Surpriſe, as if they were to be initiated in ſome ſacred Myſteries of Government by the Authority of the Senate for the Safety of their Country.

When he had croſſed the *Forum*, and was come to the Priſon, he delivered *Lentulus* to the Officer, and commanded him to Execute him. He conducted *Cethegus* thither in the ſame manner, and after Him the reſt, cauſing them all to be executed in the Priſon. In his Return from thence he ſaw ſeveral of their Accomplices in the *Forum* ſtanding together in Companies, ignorant of what was done, but expecting Night, as if the Men were ſtill alive, and in a poſſibility of being reſcued; but he called out to them in a loud Voice, and ſaid, *They did live*; an Expreſſion which the *Romans*, to avoid unlucky inauſpicious Words, make uſe of to ſignify *They are dead.* It was now Evening when he returned from the *Forum* to his own Houſe, the Citizens no longer attending him with Silence, or in Order, but receiving him

him as he paſſed, with Acclamations and Applauſes, ſaluted him, *Saviour and Second Founder of his Country.*

A bright Light ſhone through the Streets from the Lamps and Torches ſet up at the Doors, and the Women illuminated the Tops of their Houſes, to honour *Cicero*, and behold him returning home with a ſplendid Train of the moſt principal Citizens; amongſt whom were ſeveral who had managed great Wars, obtained Triumphs, and added to the Poſſeſſions of the *Roman* Empire, both at Sea and Land. Theſe, as they paſſed along with him, acknowledged to one another, that though the *Roman* People were indebted to ſeverel Officers and Commanders of that Age, for Riches, Spoils, and Power; yet to *Cicero* alone they owed the Safety and Security of all Theſe, for delivering them from ſo great and imminent a Danger; for though it might ſeem no wonderful thing to prevent the Deſign, and puniſh the Conſpirators, yet to defeat the greateſt of all Conſpiracies with ſo little Damage, Trouble and Commotion, was very extraordinary; for Many of thoſe who had run in to *Catiline*, as ſoon as they heard the Fate of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, left and forſook him, and He Himſelf with his remaining Forces joining Battle with *Antonius*, was deſtroyed with his whole Army.

And yet there were Some who were very ready both to ſpeak and do Ill to *Cicero* for theſe things, and they had for their Leaders ſome of the Magiſtrates of the enſuing Year, as *Cæſar* one of the Prætors, and *Metellus*, and *Beſtia* the Tribunes; theſe entring upon their Office ſome few Days before *Cicero*'s Conſulate expired, would not permit him to make his Oration to the People; but throwing the Forms before the *Roſtra*, hindered his ſpeaking, commanding him, if he pleaſed, only to abjure his Office, and deſcend. *Cicero* accepted of the Condition, and prepared in Appearance to take the uſual Oath. When he found the whole Court in a profound Silence he took his Oath, not the cuſtomary one, but an Oath new and unuſual, and ſuch a One as He only was qualified to take, for he ſwore *that he had ſaved his Country,*

*and preſerved the Government*, and all the People took the very ſame Oath after him.

*Cæſar* and the Tribunes being the more exaſperated by theſe things, endeavoured to create him further trouble, and therefore a Law was propoſed for the calling *Pompey* home with his Army to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of *Cicero*; but it was a very lucky thing to *Cicero*, and the whole Commonwealth, that *Cato* was at that time one of the Tribunes, for He being of an equal Power with the reſt, and of greater eſteem, oppoſing their Deſigns, both eaſily defeated all other Projects, and in an Oration to the People ſo highly extolled *Cicero*'s Conſulate, that the greateſt Honours were decreed him, and He publickly declared *the Father of his Country*, which Title he then firſt obtained, when *Cato* ſo ſtiled him in his Oration to the People.

At this time therefore his Authority was very great in the City; but he created himſelf much Envy, and offended very many, not by any evil Action, but becauſe he was always praiſing and magnifying Himſelf; for neither Senate, nor Aſſembly of the People, nor Court of Judicature could meet, in which he was not heard to boaſt of *Catiline* and *Lentulus*; beſides, he ſo filled his Books and Writings with his own *Encomiums*, that he render'd a ſtile, in itſelf moſt pleaſant and delightful, nauſeous and irkſom to his Readers; this ungrateful Humour, like a Diſeaſe, always cleaving to him: Nevertheleſs, tho' he was intemperately fond of his own Praiſe, yet he was very free from envying Others, and moſt liberally profuſe in commending both the Ancients and his Cotemporaries, as is to be underſtood by his Writings; and many of thoſe Sayings are ſtill recorded, as That concerning *Ariſtotle*, *that he was a River of flowing Gold*; of *Plato*'s Dialogues, *that if* Jupiter *were to ſpeak, he would diſcourſe as He did*; *Theophraſtus* he was wont to call *his peculiar Delight*, and being asked which of *Demoſthenes*'s Orations he liked beſt, he anſwered *the longeſt*.

And yet ſome affected Imitators of *Demoſthenes*, have complained of a Paſſage in one of *Cicero*'s familiar Epiſtles,

ſtles, wherein he ſaith, *that* Demoſthenes *ſometimes nodded in his Orations*; but they are forgetful of the many and ſingular *Encomiums* he frequently gives him, and the Honour he did him, when he named the moſt Elaborate of all his Orations, Thoſe he wrote againſt *Antony*, *Philippicks*.

And as for the Eminent Men of his own Time, either for Eloquence or Philoſophy; there was not One of them whom he did not, by Writing or Speaking in honour of them, render more illuſtrious. He obtained of *Cæſar* when in Power, the *Roman* Freedom for *Cratippus* the Peripatetick, and got the Court of *Areopagus* by publick Decree to requeſt his Stay at *Athens* for the Inſtruction of their Youth, and as the Ornament of their City. There are Epiſtles extant from *Cicero* to *Herodes*, and Others to his Son, in which he requires them to follow the Philoſophy of *Cratippus*. We have another of his Letters, wherein he blames *Gorgias* the Rhetorician for ſeducing his Son to Luxury and Drinking, and therefore forbids him his Company; which Letter, with Another to *Pelops* the *Byzantine*, are the only Two of his *Greek* Epiſtles, which ſeem to be written in Anger. In the Firſt he juſtly reflects on *Gorgias*, if he were what he was thought to be, a diſſolute and incorrigible Perſon; but in the Other, he meanly expoſtulates and complains with *Pelops*, for neglecting to procure him a Decree of certain Honours from the *Byzantines*; but theſe things are to be charged upon his Ambition, and the warmth and vehemency of his Speaking, which often made him neglect *Decorum*.

When *Numatius*, who had eſcaped Judgment by *Cicero*'s Defence, proſecuted his Friend *Sabinus*, it is ſaid that *Cicero* fell ſo foul upon him in his Anger, that he told him: *Numatius, thou wert not acquitted for thy own ſake, but becauſe I ſo overſhadowed the Light, that the Court could not perceive thy Guilt*: When from the *Roſtra* he had made *Encomiums* of *Craſſus* with good Applauſe, and within a few Days after had again as publickly reproached him, *Craſſus* called to him and ſaid, *Didſt not Thou thyſelf in this Place lately commend me? No*, ſaid *Cicero, I only exerciſed my Talent in declaiming upon a bad Subject.*

*Subject.* At another time *Craſſus* ſaid, *that none of the* Craſſi *lived above threeſcore Years*, but afterwards affirming the quite contrary, and ſaying, *What was in my Head when I ſaid ſo? Cicero* replied, *Thou knoweſt the* Romans *were glad to hear it, and therefore thou ſaidſt it to wheedle the People.* When *Craſſus* ſaid, that he was pleaſed with the Stoicks, becauſe they aſſert, *that the good Man is always rich*; *Nay, rather*, ſaid he, *becauſe they affirm all Things belong to the Wiſe*; for *Craſſus*'s Covetouſneſs was very notorious. One of *Craſſus*'s Sons was generally thought very like a certain Perſon called *Axius*, and indeed ſo like, that his Mother was ſhrewdly ſuſpected on his Account: This Youth one Day made an Oration with good Applauſe in the Senate; *Cicero* being asked what he thought of it, anſwered in a *Greek* Clinch, Ἄξιος Κράσσου, *worthy of Craſſus. Craſſus* being to go into *Syria*, reſolved to leave *Cicero* rather his Friend than his Enemy, and therefore one Day kindly ſaluting him, told him *he would come and ſup with him*, which the Other as courteouſly received. Within a few Days after, ſome of *Cicero*'s Acquaintance, interceding for *Vatinius*, told him *he was impatient to be reconciled to him, and be reſtored to his Friendſhip*, for they had been at Variance; *What*, ſaid he, *and will* Vatinius *likewiſe come and ſup with me?* Thus he uſed *Craſſus*.

*Vatinius* had a Scrophulous Humour, which raiſed Swellings in his Neck. One Day as he was pleading very floridly, *See*, ſaid *Cicero*, *what a Swollen Orator we have!* A little while after *Cicero* heard that *Vatinius* was dead, but it proving to be a falſe Report, *May Death*, ſaid he, *be His Lot, who ly'd ſo abominably.*

When *Cæſar* attempted a Law for the Diviſion of the Lands in *Campania* amongſt the Soldiers, Many of the Senate oppoſed it, amongſt the reſt *Lucius Gellius*, one of the oldeſt Men of that order, was more outrageous againſt it than Any, and ſaid, it ſhould never paſs whilſt He lived: *Let us wait then*, ſaid *Cicero*, *for* Gellius *does not require a long Day.* There was then at *Rome* a Perſon called *Octavius*, who was reproached for being an *African*:

*African:* One Day as *Cicero* was pleading, it came in this Man's Head to ſay he could not hear him: *That is ſtrange,* ſaid *Cicero, for thy Ear is bored.* When *Metellus Nepos* told him, *that he had deſtroyed more as an Evidence, than he had ſaved as an Advocate; I confeſs it,* ſaid *Cicero, for I have much more Truth than Eloquence.* To a young Man accuſed of giving a poiſoned Cake to his Father, and confidently threatning that he would beſpatter *Cicero* with his Reproaches, he ſaid, *I had much rather have Thoſe than your Cake. Publius Seſtus* having, amongſt Others, retained *Cicero* as his Advocate in a certain Cauſe, and yet deſirous to talk all for Himſelf, and allow no body to ſpeak for him, when he was ready to be acquitted by the Judges, and the Ballots were paſſing, *Cicero* called to him, and ſaid, Seſtus, *make the beſt Uſe of thy Time To-day, for To-morrow thou wilt be but a private Perſon.* There was one *Publius Cotta,* who affected to paſs upon the World for a great Lawyer, tho' he was very ignorant, and unlearned: *Cicero* had Occaſion to make uſe of his Teſtimony in ſome Cauſe wherein he was concerned, and when *Cotta* declared *that he knew nothing of what they asked him; Perhaps thou thinkeſt,* ſaid *Cicero, that we are queſtioning thee about a Point in Law.*

*Metellus Nepos,* in ſome Diſpute betwixt Him and *Cicero,* often asked him, *who is thy Father,* Cicero? to which he replied, *Thy Mother has made it more difficult for Thee to anſwer that Queſtion than Me.* For the Mother of *Metellus* was not a Woman of the beſt Reputation. This *Metellus* was a Man of a very unſettled Temper, for whilſt he was Tribune of the People he quitted the Office very abruptly, and fled to *Pompey* in *Syria,* and as ſoon as he got thither he more abruptly returned back to *Rome.* When his Preceptor *Philager* died, he cauſed him to be buried with much Pomp, and placed a Crow in Marble over his Monument: *In This,* ſaid *Cicero, thou haſt done wiſely, for thy Tutor has taught thee how to fly, better than to ſpeak.*

When *Marcus Appius,* in his Preamble to a Plea, had ſaid, *that his Friend had deſired him to employ all his Induſtry, Eloquence, and Fidelity in that Cauſe; Cicero* anſwered,

ſwered, *Then thou haſt been very hard to thy Friend, in not performing one of thoſe Things he has deſired of thee.* To uſe this bitter Rallery againſt Oppoſites and Antagoniſts in pleading ſeems allowable Rhetorick at a Bar; but to fall upon every Body, only to move Laughter, This created him great Hatred: A few of which Paſſages I ſhall relate. *Marcus Aquilius* had two Sons-in-law, who were Both in Exile, whereupon *Cicero* called him *Adraſtus*: *Lucius Colla*, an intemperate Lover of Wine, was Cenſor when *Cicero* pretended to the Conſulſhip; *Cicero* being dry at the Election, his Friends ſtood round about him whilſt he was drinking, *You have Reaſon to be afraid*, ſays *Cicero*, *leſt the Cenſor ſhould be angry that I drink Water.* Meeting *Voconius* one Day with his three very ugly Daughters, he cry'd out,

*This Man has ſown his Seed,*
*Without* Apollo's *Leave or Aid.*

When *Marcus Gellius*, who was reputed the Son of a Slave, had read ſeveral Letters in the Senate, with a very ſhrill and loud Voice, *Do not wonder at it*, ſaid *Cicero*, *for he comes of Thoſe who have been publick Criers.* When *Fauſtus Sylla*, the Son of *Sylla* the Dictator, who had during his Dictatorſhip by publick Bills proſcribed and condemned ſeveral Citizens, had ſo far waſted his Eſtate, and got into Debt, that he was forced to publiſh his Bills of Sale, *Cicero* told him, *That he liked theſe Bills much better than his Fathers.* By theſe things he became very odious to Many: And this encouraged *Clodius* and his Faction to form their Schemes againſt him, upon the following Occaſion.

*Clodius* was of a Noble Family, in the Flower of his Youth, and of a bold and reſolute Humour; Being deſperately in Love with *Pompeia*, *Cæſar*'s Wife, he got privately into his Houſe in the Habit and Dreſs of a Minſtrel, whilſt the Women were offering that Sacrifice in *Cæſar*'s Houſe, which is neither to be heard nor ſeen by Men, and where no Man is ſuffered to be preſent; but *Clodius*, who was then too young to have a Beard, hoped

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to get to *Pompeia* among the Women without being taken Notice of, but entring that great Houſe by Night he was loſt in the Paſſages, where *Aurelia*, one of *Cæſar*'s Mother's Women, ſpying him wandring up and down, inquired his Name; thus being neceſſitated to ſpeak, he told her he was ſeeking for one of *Pompeia*'s Maids, by Name *Aura*; ſhe perceiving it not to be a Woman's Voice ſhrieked out, and called in the Women, who preſently ſhutting up the Gates, and ſearching every Place, at length found *Clodius* in the Chamber of that Maid with whom he came in: This Matter being noiſed abroad, *Cæſar* put away his Wife *Pompeia*, and *Clodius* was proſecuted for profaning the holy Rites.

*Cicero* was at this Time his particular Friend, for he had been uſeful to him in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, as one of his moſt forward Aſſiſtants and Body Guards.

*Clodius* putting the Streſs of his Defence upon this Point, *that he was not then at* Rome, *but afar off in the Country*, *Cicero* teſtified that he came to his Houſe that very Day, and diſcourſed with him upon ſeveral Matters; which thing was indeed true, although *Cicero* was thought to teſtify it, not ſo much for the Truth's ſake, as to preſerve his Quiet with *Terentia* his Wife, for ſhe hated *Clodius* mortally upon the Score of his Siſter *Clodia*. She knew *Clodia* had it in her Head to marry *Cicero*, and managed the Deſign by one *Tullus*, a Friend and Intimate of *Cicero*'s in his greateſt Affairs: And *Cicero* himſelf, by frequently viſiting and paying his Court to *Clodia* as a Neighbour, had given *Terentia* Ground to ſuſpect him. Beſides, *Terentia* was naturally a Woman of a crabbed over-bearing Temper, and had moreover an Aſcendant over her Husband, ſo that ſhe ſpirited him up againſt *Clodius*, and forced him to teſtify againſt him. A great number of Perſons of the beſt Credit and Reputation in the City appeared likewiſe againſt him, charging him with Perjury, Forgery, Corruption, and the ſeducing and deflowering of Women.

*Lucullus* proved, by Two of his Maid-Servants, that he had lain with his youngeſt Siſter, when ſhe was His Wife; and it was publickly reported, that he had converſed

verſed with his two other Siſters in the ſame criminal Manner. One of Theſe was *Terentia*, whom *Martius Rex*, and the Other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had married. The Laſt of theſe was called *Quadrantula*, becauſe one of her Lovers had deceived her with a Purſe of ſmall Braſs Money inſtead of Silver, the ſmalleſt Braſs Coin being called a *Quadrant*. Upon this Siſter's Account *Clodius* was principally defamed. Notwithſtanding all This, when the common People appeared in Tumults againſt the Accuſers and Proſecutors of *Clodius*, the Judges were ſo affrighted, that a Guard was placed about them for their Defence, and many of them gave in their Opinions upon Scrolls, wherein the Letters were jumbled and confounded; Notwithſtanding which he was abſolved by a Majority, who lay under a Suſpicion of Bribery. For this Reaſon *Catulus* meeting the Judges as they were coming out of Court, told them, *You did well in requiring a Guard for your Safety, for fear your Money ſhould have been taken from you*; and when *Clodius* upbraided *Cicero*, that the Judges did not believe His Teſtimony; *Yes*, ſaid he, *five and twenty of them believed Me, for ſo many have condemned You; but the other Thirty refuſed to believe You, for they would not abſolve you 'till they had received your Money.* As for *Cæſar*, tho' he was cited to give in his Teſtimony, yet he refuſed to be an Evidence againſt *Clodius*, and without charging his Wife with Adultery he put her away, becauſe he ſaid, *it was fit that* Cæſar's *Bed ſhould not be only free of the evil Fact, but of the Fame too.*

*Clodius* having eſcaped this Danger, and got to be choſen one of the Tribunes of the People, immediately attacked *Cicero*, heaping up all Matters, and inciting all Perſons againſt him. The common People he wheedled with Popular Laws; to each of the Conſuls he decreed large Provinces, to *Piſo Macedonia*, and to *Gabinius Syria*: He muſtered together a Rabble of indigent Perſons to ſerve his Deſign, and had always armed Slaves about him; of the three Men then in greateſt Power, *Craſſus* was *Cicero*'s open Enemy, *Pompey* indifferently careſſed Both, and *Cæſar* was going with an Army into *Gaul*.

*Cicero*

*Cicero* applies himſelf to Him, tho' he knew he was none of his firm Friends, but that on the contrary he had looked on him with an evil Eye ever ſince the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*; notwithſtanding which he deſired of him the Honour of being his Lieutenant. *Cæſar* accepted the Propoſal with great Joy, and *Clodius* perceiving that this was a way for him to be out of his Reach during the Year of his Tribuneſhip, pretended to be inclinable to a Reconcilement, laying all the Blame upon *Terentia*, as the ſole Cauſe of *Cicero*'s Animoſity towards him, ſpeaking at the ſame time very honourably of Him; and if at any time a hard Expreſſion dropt from him, when he mentioned him, it was ſuch as became one Friend when he was complaining of, or expoſtulating with Another. By this Behaviour he ſo wrought upon *Cicero*, that he thought himſelf ſecure, and returning his Commiſſion to *Cæſar*, he betook himſelf again to the Affairs of the Publick. *Cæſar* being exaſperated at this Proceeding animated *Clodius* againſt him, and made *Pompey* cool and indifferent towards him. At the ſame time he declared in a Publick Aſſembly of the People, that *Cicero* had broke through the Rules of Probity and Juſtice, and violated all the Laws both human and divine, in putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to Death, without any legal Proceedings againſt them.

And This indeed was the Crime charged upon him, of which *Cicero* ſtanding accuſed, he changed his Habit, and in a ſordid and untrimmed Dreſs went about and ſupplicated the People; but *Clodius* always met him in every Corner, having a pack of abuſive and daring Fellows about him, who with Inſolence publickly derided his Dreſs and change of Habit, and would often by throwing Dirt and Stones at him interrupt his Supplications to the People. Notwithſtanding This, almoſt the whole Equeſtrian Order changed their Habits with him, and no leſs than twenty thouſand young Gentlemen followed him untrimmed, and ſupplicating with him to the People on his behalf; afterwards the Senate met to paſs a Decree that the People ſhould change their Habit as in time of publick Sorrow:

But the Conſuls oppoſing it, and *Clodius* with armed Men beſetting the Senate-houſe, many of the Senators ran out ſhrieking, and rending their Habits, as in the utmoſt Conſternation.

This lamentable Spectacle had not the leaſt Effect upon *Clodius*'s Bravoes, who were equally inſenſible of Shame and Compaſſion; for it was determined that either *Cicero* muſt become a voluntary Exile, or decide it Sword in hand with *Clodius*. In this Extremity he implored the Succour of *Pompey*; but he had withdrawn himſelf on purpoſe, and was retired to his Country-ſeat near Mount *Alba*. *Cicero* at firſt ſent his Son-in-law *Piſo* to him, to conjure him to haſten to his Aſſiſtance; and at laſt went Himſelf. *Pompey* being informed of his Arrival, had not the Face to ſee him; for he had a great Reverence for that Man, who had contended in ſo many Quarrels for him, and had directed ſo much of his Policy for his Advantage; but being *Cæſar*'s Son-in-law, at His Inſtance he overlooked all former Services, and ſlipping out at a back Door avoided an Interview. Thus being forſaken by *Pompey*, and left alone to himſelf, he fled to the Conſuls. *Galbinus* was always ſurly to him, but *Piſo* treated him more civilly, deſiring him to yield and give place for a while to the Fury of *Clodius*, and to expect the Change of Times, and to be once more a Saviour to his Country, which was now flung into new Commotions and Dangers on his Account.

*Cicero* receiving this Anſwer, conſulted with his Friends: *Lucullus* adviſed him to ſtay, as being ſure to prevail at laſt: Others to fly, becauſe the People would ſoon deſire him again, when they ſhould have enough of the Rage and Madneſs of *Clodius*. *Cicero* approved of this laſt Expedient, and taking a Statue of *Minerva*, which had been long ſet up in his Houſe, and worſhipped with ſingular Devotion, he carried it to the Capitol, where he Dedicated it with this Inſcription, *To* Minerva *the Patroneſs of* Rome. And receiving a ſafe Convoy from his Friends, about the middle of the Night he left the City, and went on foot through *Lucania*, intending to

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reach *Sicily*. But as ſoon as it was publickly known that he was fled, *Clodius* procured of the People a Decree of Exile, and by Bill interdicted him Fire and Water, prohibiting any within five hundred Miles of *Italy* to receive him into their Houſes. But all Mankind had conceived ſo high a Reverence and Eſteem for *Cicero*, that in ſpite of this Decree, the People received him with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Reſpect, and accompanied him with the utmoſt Pomp and Ceremony in his Paſſage. Only at *Hipponium* a City of *Lucania*, now called *Vibo*, one *Vibius* a *Sicilian* by birth, who amongſt many other Effects of *Cicero*'s Friendſhip, had been made Surveyor of the Works when he was Conſul, would not indeed receive him into his Houſe, yet ſent him word, he would appoint a Place in the Country for his Reception. And C. *Virginius* the Prætor of *Sicily*, who made uſe of *Cicero* in his greateſt Neceſſities, wrote to him to forbear coming into *Sicily*. *Cicero* provoked at this Ingratitude, went directly to *Brunduſium*, where he embarked for *Dyrrachium*. At firſt the Wind was favourable, but by that time he was got out to Sea it turned about, and drove him back to Port. He embarked again the firſt time the Wind preſented, and arrived at *Dyrrachium*. It is reported that at his landing an Earthquake was felt, and that the Waters retired with an unuſual Ebb to the Sea-ward, from whence the Soothſayers conjectured his Exile would not be long; for thoſe things were Prognoſticks of Change. Whilſt he continued at *Dyrrachium* multitudes of People waited on him with great Demonſtrations of Eſteem and Affection, and all the Cities of *Greece* contended Who ſhould honour him moſt; notwithſtanding which he continued diſheartned and diſconſolate, like an unfortunate Lover, often caſting a Look back upon *Italy*; and indeed he was become more mortified and dejected by his Misfortunes, than could have been expected from a Man of Letters, and one nurtured in the Schools of Philoſophy. However he had often deſired his Friends not to call him Orator, but Philoſopher, becauſe he had made Philoſophy his Buſineſs, and had only

uſed Rhetorick as an Inſtrument of Governing the Commonwealth, when there was Neceſſity for it.

But the deſire of Glory has great power in blotting the Tinctures of Philoſophy out of the Souls of Men, and of imprinting the Paſſions of the Vulgar by Cuſtom and Converſation in the Minds of Thoſe who govern them; unleſs the Politician be very careful ſo to engage in publick Affairs, as to intereſt himſelf only in the Affairs Themſelves, and not in the Paſſions that are conſequent to them.

*Clodius* having thus driven away *Cicero*, fell to burning his Villas, and afterwards his City Houſe, and built in the Place of it a Temple to *Liberty*; at the ſame time he put up his Goods to Auction, of which Proclamation was made daily, but no body came to buy them.

By theſe things he became formidable to the chiefeſt Citizens, and having got together a Body of the Commonalty, let looſe to all manner of inſolence and licentiouſneſs, he fell foul upon *Pompey*, inveighing againſt ſeveral things done by Him in the Wars. *Pompey* perceiving the ill Effect This had upon the Minds of the People, began to blame himſelf for having abandoned *Cicero*, ſo that uniting his Friends Intereſts with his Own, he did all he could to get him recalled. At the ſame time *Clodius* did all he could to oppoſe it, but the Senate paſſed a Vote, that no publick Matter ſhould be decreed or acted, 'till *Cicero* was reſtored: The Year following *Lentulus* being Conſul, the Commotions grew ſo high upon this Matter, that ſome of the Tribunes were wounded in the common Hall, and *Quintus*, *Cicero*'s Brother, was left as dead, amongſt the ſlain. Upon This the People began to change their Opinion, and *Annius Milo*, one of their Tribunes, was the Firſt who had the Courage to hale *Clodius* by force unto Judgment. Many of the common People and of the neighbouring Cities joining with *Pompey*, he went with them, and drove *Clodius* out of the Common Hall, and ſummoned in their People to paſs their Vote, who it is ſaid never paſſed any Suffrage more unanimouſly than This; the Senate alſo joining with the

People

People, ſent Letters of Thanks to thoſe Cities, which had received *Cicero* with reſpect in his Exile, and decreed, that his Houſe and Villas which *Clodius* had deſtroyed ſhould be rebuilt at the publick Charge.

Thus *Cicero* returned Sixteen Months after his Exile, and the Cities were ſo glad, and ſo zealous to meet him, that what *Cicero* boaſted of afterwards, *viz. That* Italy *had brought him upon her Shoulders home to* Rome, was rather leſs than the Truth: And *Craſſus* Himſelf, who had been his Enemy before his Exile, went then voluntarily to meet him, and was reconciled, to pleaſe his Son *Publius*, as he ſaid, who was a great Admirer of *Cicero*.

*Cicero* had not been long at *Rome*, when taking the Opportunity of *Clodius*'s Abſence, he went with a great Company to the Capitol, and there tore and defaced the Tribunitian Tables, in which were recorded all the Acts that had paſſed in the time of *Clodius*: *Clodius* calling him in queſtion for this, *Cicero* anſwered, *that He being of the* Patrician *Order, had obtained the Office of Tribune contrary to Law, and therefore nothing was valid that was done by Him.* *Cato* was diſpleaſed at this Proceeding, and oppoſed *Cicero*, not that he commended *Clodius*, but rather diſapproved of his whole Adminiſtration; yet he contended it was an irregular and violent Courſe, for the Senate to Vote the aboliſhing of ſo many Decrees and Acts, among which alſo was the Commiſſion for His Government at *Cyprus* and *Byzantium*.

This occaſioned a Breach betwixt *Cato* and *Cicero*, which tho' it came not to open Enmity, yet it made a more referved Friendſhip betwixt them. After This *Milo* killed *Clodius*, and being arraigned for the Murder, he choſe *Cicero* for his Advocate. The Senate fearing leſt the queſtioning of ſo eminent and high-ſpirited a Citizen as *Milo*, might diſturb the Peace of the City, committed the regulating of This, and ſuch other Trials to *Pompey*, to preſide for the Security of the City, and of the Courts of Juſtice. *Pompey* therefore went in the Night, and encompaſſed the outward part of the *Forum* with Soldiers. *Milo* fearing leſt *Cicero* being diſturbed by

ſuch an unuſual Sight ſhould manage his Cauſe ill, perſuaded him to come in his Chair into the *Forum*, and there to repoſe himſelf 'till the Judges were ſet, and the Court filled. For *Cicero* was not only timorous in Arms, but began his Pleadings alſo with Fear, and ſcarce left trembling and ſhaking in ſome Cauſes in the height and middle of his Oration. Being to defend *Lucius Murena* againſt the Proſecution of *Cato*, and endeavouring to outdo *Hortenſius*, who had made his Plea with great Applauſe, he took ſo little Reſt the preceding Night, and was ſo diſorder'd with much Thought and over-watching, that he fell far ſhort of his Antagoniſt. The Day therefore he was to plead for *Milo*, when he came into the Court, and upon getting out of his Chair beheld *Pompey* placed above as in a Camp, and Arms ſhining round about the *Forum*, he was ſo confounded, that he could hardly begin his Speech for the trembling of his Body, and heſitance of his Tongue: But *Milo* appeared at the Trial briſk and confident, diſdaining either to let his Hair grow, or to put on the mourning Habit, as was cuſtomary on ſuch Occaſions; and it is thought that this Confidence of His was the principal Cauſe of his Condemnation.

And yet this Timidity of *Cicero* was rather attributed to his Concern for his Clients than himſelf. He was afterwards made one of thoſe Prieſts whom the *Romans* call *Augurs*, in the Room of *Craſſus* the younger, dead in *Parthia*; and having by Lot obtained the Province of *Cilicia*, he ſet ſail thither with twelve thouſand Foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred Horſe; he had orders alſo to reduce *Cappadocia* to the Obedience of *Ariobarzanes* their King, which Settlement he very happily effected without Arms; and perceiving the *Cilicians*, by the great Loſs the *Romans* had ſuffered in *Parthia*, and the Commotions in *Syria*, grown inſolent; he reduced them into good Temper, by a gentle Government. He received no Preſents, tho' ſent him by Kings: He remitted to the Province the charge of Publick Suppers: but entertained daily at his own Houſe the ingenious and accompliſhed Men of the better Quality, not Sumptuouſly, but Liberal-

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ly. His Houſe had no Porter, nor was he ſeen in Bed by any Man; but early in the Morning ſtanding or walking before his Door, he courteouſly received Thoſe who viſited him.

He never commanded any to be beaten with Rods, nor to have their Garments rent: He never gave contumelious Language in his Anger, nor inflicted Puniſhment with Reproach. When he found any of the Publick Monies purloined, he enriched the Cities with it; and Thoſe who voluntarily made Reſtitution, without any further Puniſhment, he preſerved intire in their Reputation. He made a little Effort of War, and drove out the Thieves which infeſted Mount *Amanus*, for which he was ſaluted by his Army *Imperator*. To *Cælius* the Orator, who deſired him to ſend him ſome Panthers from *Cilicia*, to be expoſed in a Shew he was to exhibit at *Rome*, *Cicero*, to magnify his Actions, wrote in Anſwer, *That there were no Panthers in* Cilicia, *for they were all fled to* Caria *in Anger, that in ſo general a Peace They ſhould be left the only Subjects of his Arms.*

In his Return from his Province, he touched firſt at *Rhodes*, and afterwards at *Athens*, where he made an agreeable Stay, and was viſited by all Thoſe who were moſt celebrated for their Learning and Knowledge, and renewed his Acquaintance with his old Friends and Fellow-Students. From thence, after having been highly honoured by them, and received the ſtrongeſt Tokens of Friendſhip and Eſteem, which *Greece* could manifeſt for him, he returned to *Rome*, where he found every thing in a ferment, and the State ſwoln with Sedition, which muſt neceſſarily end in a Civil War. When the Senate would have decreed him a Triumph, he told them, *he had rather, ſo Differences were accommodated, follow the Triumphant Chariot of* Cæſar. In private he gave Advice to Both, writing many things to *Cæſar*, and intreating ſeveral of *Pompey*; mollifying, perſuading, and exhorting each of them: But when Matters became incurable, and *Cæſar* was approaching *Rome*, *Pompey* durſt not abide it, but with many honeſt Citizens left the City: *Cicero* avoided the Flight, and ſeemed to adhere to *Cæſar*, tho'

tho' it is very evident he was in his Thoughts much divided, and wavered betwixt both; for thus he writes in his Epiſtles: *To which ſide ſhould I turn?* Pompey's *Cauſe is more juſt and honourable, but* Cæſar *has managed his Affairs better, and is more able to ſecure himſelf and his Friends: ſo that I know Whom I ſhould fly, but not Whom I ſhould fly to.* But when *Trebatius*, one of *Cæſar*'s Friends, by Letter ſignified to him, that *Cæſar* thought it was his Intereſt to ſecure himſelf on His ſide, and to make him Partaker of His Hopes; but if his Age would not permit it he might retire into *Greece*, and there abide and enjoy his Quiet, remote from either Party; *Cicero* being affronted at *Cæſar* for not writing to him Himſelf, anſwered in Anger, *that he would do nothing now unworthy of his former Conduct and Behaviour in the Government.* This is what we find in his Epiſtles. But as ſoon as *Cæſar* was gone into *Spain*, he immediately took Shipping to go to *Pompey*; and was very acceptable to All but *Cato*, who reproved him in private for joining himſelf to *Pompey*: *For myſelf*, ſaid he; *it would not have been juſt or honeſt for Me to have forſaken that part of the Commonwealth which I eſpouſed from the Beginning*; *but you might have been more uſeful to your Friends and Country, if remaining Neuter, You had attended and been govern'd by the Event, and not without Reaſon or Neceſſity have made yourſelf an Enemy to* Cæſar, *and partook in theſe Dangers when you had no Call.*

This Diſcourſe cauſed *Cicero* to change his Sentiments, eſpecially when he found *Pompey* made no uſe of him in any thing of Moment and Importance. It is true, no body was to be blamed for That but Himſelf, for he made no ſcruple of profeſſing that he repented of his coming, and derided *Pompey*'s Preparations, blaming his Counſels, and not ſparing his Aſſociates, but ſcoffing at, and ridiculing them upon all Occaſions. All this while he was uneaſy in his own Mind, and would walk whole Days together up and down the Camp with a ſorrowful dejected Countenance; and yet at every turn he would have his Jeſt, which ſet Others a laughing, tho' they found they had

had little or no reaſon to be diſpoſed to Mirth. And here it may not be amiſs to relate ſome few of thoſe Jeſts. To *Demetrius*, preferring one to a Command who was no Soldier, and ſaying in his Defence, that he was a Modeſt and Prudent Perſon; he replied, *Why did not you keep him then for a Tutor to your Children?* Some commending *Theophanes* the *Lesbian*, who was Maſter of the Works in the Camp, for that he had excellently comforted the *Rhodians* after the Loſs of their Fleet: *What a Benefit is it*, ſaid he, *to have an Officer a* Grecian! When *Cæſar* had done many Things ſucceſsfully, and in a manner beſieged *Pompey*, *Lentulus* was ſaying, it was reported that *Cæſar*'s Friends were melancholy: *You mean*, ſays *Cicero*, *they are wiſhing ill to* Cæſar. To one *Marcius*, newly come from *Italy*, and telling them, *that there was a ſtrong Report at* Rome, *that* Pompey *was blocked up*; he ſaid, *And therefore you ſailed hither on purpoſe to know the Truth of it, and believe your own Eyes.* To *Nonius*, encouraging them after a Defeat to be of good hope, becauſe there were ſeven Eagles ſtill left in *Pompey*'s Camp: *You encourage well*, ſaid *Cicero*, *if we were to fight with Jackdaws. Labienus* demonſtrating from Divination that *Pompey* was to be Conqueror: *Yes*, ſaid *Cicero*, *and by truſting to this Stratagem, we have already loſt our Camp.*

After the Battle of *Pharſalia* was over (at which he was not preſent, for want of Health) and *Pompey* was fled, *Cato* having conſiderable Forces, and a great Fleet at *Dyrrachium*, would have had *Cicero* Commander in Chief, according to Law, and the Precedence of his Conſular Dignity. But *Cicero* refuſing the Command, and wholly avoiding to join with their Arms, was very near being ſlain; young *Pompey* and his Friends calling him Traitor, and drawing their Swords upon him, had ſlain him, had not *Cato* interpoſed, and with much Difficulty reſcued and brought him out of the Camp.

Afterwards arriving at *Brunduſium*, he tarried there ſome time, in expectation of *Cæſar*, who lingered becauſe of his Affairs in *Aſia* and *Ægypt*; and when it was told him, that he was arrived at *Tarentum*, and was coming thence by Land to *Brunduſium*, he haſtened towards him,

not

not altogether without Hope, and yet in ſome Fear of making experiment of the Temper of an Enemy, and Conqueror, in a publick Preſence. But there was no Neceſſity for him, either to ſpeak or do any thing unworthy of himſelf; for *Cæſar*, as ſoon as he ſaw him coming a good way before the reſt of the Company to meet him, quitted his Horſe, ran up to him, and ſaluted him; and leading the way, diſcourſed with hjm alone for many Furlongs; and from that time forward continued to treat him with Honour and Reſpect: So that when *Cicero* wrote a ſmall Treatiſe in praiſe of *Cato*, *Cæſar* writing againſt it, took occaſion to commend not only the Eloquence but the Life of *Cicero*, as moſt exactly reſembling That of *Pericles* and *Theramenes*. *Cicero*'s Oration was called *Cato*, *Cæſar*'s, *Anti-Cato*.

It is reported, that when *Quintus Ligarius* was proſecuted for having been in Arms againſt *Cæſar*, and *Cicero* had undertaken his Defence, *Cæſar* ſaid to his Friends, *What ſhould hinder us from hearing* Cicero, *it being ſo long ſince we heard him laſt? But as for his Client, he already ſtands condemned in my Judgment.* But when *Cicero* began to ſpeak, he wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in his Speech with that Variety of *Pathos*, and that admirable Grace, that the Colour of *Cæſar*'s Countenance often changed; and it was very evident, that all the Paſſions of his Soul were in Commotion. At length the Orator touching upon the *Pharſalian* Battle, he was ſo tranſported, that his Body trembled, and ſome of the Papers he held dropped out of his Hands; and thus being overpowered by the Force of his Eloquence he acquitted *Ligarius*, tho' he had before reſolved to condemn him.

After This, the Commonwealth being changed into a Monarchy, *Cicero* withdrew himſelf from publick Affairs, and employed his Leiſure in inſtructing ſuch young Men as deſired it, in Philoſophy; and by their Converſation and Acquaintance, They being of the nobleſt and beſt Quality in the City, he again raiſed himſelf up to great Power and Authority. But his chief Buſineſs was to compoſe and tranſlate Philoſophical Dialogues; and to render Logical and Phyſical Terms into the *Roman* Idiom:

For

For he it was, as it is ſaid, who firſt gave *Latin* Names to theſe *Greek* Words *Phantaſia* (Imagination) *Catatheſis* (Aſſent) *Epoche* (Doubt) *Catalepſis* (Comprehenſion) *Atomos* (Atoms) *Ameres* (Indiviſible) *Cenon* (Void) and many ſuch other *Greek* Terms of Art, contriving by Metaphors, and other Proprieties, to render them intelligible and expreſſible by the *Romans*. For his Recreation, he exerciſed his Dexterity in Poetry, and when he was ſet to it, would make five hundred Verſes in one Night: He ſpent the greateſt part of his time at his Country Houſe near *Tuſculum*. He wrote to his Friends, *that he led the Life of* Laertes, either jeſtingly, as his Cuſtom was, or rather through Ambition for publick Employment, and from a Diſlike of his preſent Situation. Whatever it was, he rarely went to the City, unleſs to pay his Court to *Cæſar*. He was commonly the firſt amongſt Thoſe who voted him Honours, and always forward in ſpeaking ſome new thing in praiſe of the Man and his Actions: As that which he ſaid of the Statues of *Pompey*; for theſe being defaced and thrown down, *Cæſar* had commanded to be reſtored, and they were ſo; and therefore *Cicero* ſaid; *That* Cæſar, *by this Act of Humanity, had indeed ſet up* Pompey's *Statues, but fixed and eſtabliſhed his Own.*

He had a Deſign, as it is reported, of writing the Hiſtory of his own Country, and of intermingling with it the Affairs of *Greece*, with the whole Body both of their true and fabulous Stories: But he was diverted by many publick and private Affairs, and other croſs Accidents; moſt of which ſeem to have befallen him by his own fault. For firſt of all, he put away his Wife *Terentia*, aſſerting he had been neglected by her in the time of the War, and ſent away deſtitute of Neceſſaries for his Journey; neither did he find her kind when he returned into *Italy*, for ſhe went not to him at *Brunduſium*, where he ſtaid a long time; nor would ſhe allow his Daughter *Tullia*, who was then very young, and had the Courage to undertake ſuch a Journey, decent Attendance, or proper Accommodations; beſides ſhe left him a naked and empty Houſe, and yet had involved him in many and great Debts. Theſe were alledged for the moſt ſpecious Pretences of the Di-

vorce.

vorce. But for *Terentia*, who denied all these things, *Cicero* himself made an evident Apology, by marrying a young Virgin not long after, for the love of her Beauty, as *Terentia* upbraided him; or as *Tyro*, his emancipated Slave, hath written, for her Riches, to discharge his Debts; for the young Woman was very rich, and *Cicero* had the Custody of her Estate, being left Guardian in Trust; and being indebted many Myriads, he was perswaded by his Friends and Relations to marry this young Woman, notwithstanding her Age, for the present Satisfaction of his Creditors with her Money.

*Antony*, mentioning this Marriage in his Answer to the *Philippicks*, reproaches him *for putting away a Wife after he had grown old in her Society*; taxing him in a genteel manner for having always led an unactive domestick Life, without ever serving his Country as a Soldier. Not long after this Marriage, his Daughter died in Childbed at *Lentulus*'s House; for she was married to Him after the Death of *Piso*, her former Husband. The Philosophers from all parts came to comfort *Cicero*; for he took this Accident so grievously, that he put away his new-married Wife for seeming to rejoice at the Death of *Tullia*. And thus stood *Cicero*'s Domestick Affairs at this time.

He had no Concern in the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, though he was particularly intimate with *Brutus*, and was very uneasy under the present Situation of Affairs, and wished for a Change as much as any other whatsoever: But the Conspirators feared his Temper, as wanting Courage; and his old Age, in which the most daring Dispositions are apt to be timorous.

As soon therefore as the Fact was committed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and the Friends of *Cæsar* were got together, so that there was no room to doubt the City would again be involved in a Civil War, *Antony* being Consul, convened the Senate, and made a short Discourse tending to an Accommodation. But *Cicero* inlarging pathetically upon many things suitable to the Occasion, perswaded the Senate to imitate the *Athenians*, and pass an Act of Oblivion for what had been transacted against *Cæsar*, and decree Provinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; but neither of these things took Effect. For

For as ſoon as the Common People, of themſelves inclined to Pity, ſaw the dead Body of *Cæſar* born through the Market-place, and *Antony* expoſing his Garments all bloody, and pierced through on every ſide with Swords, enraged with Fury, they made a ſearch for the Murderers, and with Firebrands in their Hands ran to their Houſes to burn them. But they being forewarned avoided this Danger, and expecting many more and greater attending them, they left the City: Upon this *Antony* was on a ſudden puffed up, and aiming at nothing leſs than to be abſolute, he became formidable to All; but moſt formidable to *Cicero*; for perceiving that His Intereſt and Authority began again to gain ground in the Commonwealth, and knowing him ſtudious of the Friendſhip of *Brutus*, his Preſence was very uneaſy to him: Beſides, there had been ſome former Jealouſy betwixt them, occaſioned by the unlikelineſs and difference of their Manners. *Cicero* fearing the Event of theſe things, was inclined to go as a Lieutenant with *Dolabella* into *Syria*. But *Hirtius* and *Panſa* being deſigned Conſuls after *Antony*, good Men, and Lovers of *Cicero*, intreated him not to leave them; undertaking to ſuppreſs *Antony*, if he wou'd remain at *Rome*, and aſſiſt them with his Preſence.

*Cicero*, without crediting too much or too little, ſuffered *Dolabella* to go without him, and after having aſſured *Hirtius* that he would ſpend his Summer at *Athens*, and return to *Rome* as ſoon as They ſhould be inſtalled in their Office, he embarked for *Greece*. But meeting with a tedious Paſſage, and receiving every Day Intelligence from *Rome*, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, by which he was aſſured that there appeared a wonderful Change in *Antony*, that he did nothing without the Advice and Conſent of the Senate, and that nothing was wanting but his Preſence to reduce things to a happy Settlement; and therefore blaming himſelf for his great Cowardiſe, he returned again to *Rome*, and was not deceived in his Hopes at the beginning: For ſuch Multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the Compliments and Civilities which were paid him at the Gates, and at his Entrance into the City, took up almoſt one whole Day's time.

The next Day *Antony* convened the Senate, and ſummoned *Cicero* to attend. He came not, but kept his Bed, pretending to be ill of his Journey; but the true Reaſon ſeemed the Fear of ſome Deſign againſt him, upon a Suſpicion and Intimation given him on his way to *Rome*. But *Antony* took this Affront very hainouſly, and ſent Soldiers, commanding them to bring him, or in caſe he refuſed, to burn his Houſe; but Many interceeding, and ſupplicating for him, he revoked that Order, and bid them only bring from him a Pledge for the Security of the Fine to which he was liable on the account of his Abſence.

Ever after This when they met, they paſſed one another with Silence, and continued reſerved; 'till *Octavius* coming from *Apollonia*, entered upon the Inheritance of *Julius Cæſar*, and had a Controverſy with *Antony* for two thouſand five hundred Myriads, which he detained of that Eſtate. Upon this, *Philip*, who married the Mother, and *Marcellus* the Siſter of *Cæſar*, went with him to *Cicero*, and it was agreed between them that *Cicero* ſhould aſſiſt *Cæſar* with his Eloquence both in the Senate and with the People; and that *Cæſar*, on the other hand, ſhould ſupply *Cicero* with Money upon Occaſion, and ſuccour and defend him againſt his Enemies with his Arms; for he had even then at his Command a great Number of *Veteran* Soldiers, who had ſerved under his Uncle *Julius*.

But there was ſtill a ſtronger Reaſon, which inclined *Cicero* to embrace the Friendſhip of *Octavius*. For while *Pompey* and *Cæſar* were yet alive, *Cicero* in a Dream ſeemed to ſummon the Sons of the Senators into the Capitol, as if *Jupiter* deſigned to declare one of them the Sovereign of *Rome*; the Citizens running thither with Curioſity ſurrounded the Temple, and the Youth ſitting in their Purple Robes kept Silence. On a ſudden the Doors opened, and the Youths ariſing one by one in order paſſed round the God, who reviewed them All One after Another, and diſmiſſed them, at which they ſeemed much diſpleaſed. But when it came to young *Cæſar*'s Turn to be reviewed, then *Jupiter* ſtretching

ing forth his Hand pronounced aloud, *This, O ye* Romans, *This young Man, when he ſhall become Lord of* Rome, *ſhall put an end to all your cruel Wars.* It is ſaid that *Cicero*, by this Viſion in his Dream, had framed the perfect Idea of the Youth, and preſerved it in his Mind, though he did not then know him. The next day going down into the *Campus Martius*, he met the Boys returning from their Exerciſe; and the firſt that *Cicero* ſaw was this young *Cæſar*, juſt as he appeared to him in his Dream: Being aſtoniſhed at it, he aſked him, who were his Parents? He was the Son of *Octavius*, a Perſon not of the greateſt Eminence in *Rome*, and of *Attia* the Siſter of *Cæſar*, who having no Children of his Own, adopted him, and by his laſt Will declared him the Heir to all his Eſtate.

From that time it is ſaid that *Cicero* very ſtudiouſly ſaluted the Youth whenſoever he met him, and He as kindly received the Civility. To all This we may add that *Octavius* happened to be born when *Cicero* was Conſul. Theſe were the pretended Reaſons; but it was principally *Cicero*'s Hatred of *Antony*, and a Temper unable to reſiſt Honour, which faſtened him to *Cæſar*, with an Opinion of uniting *Cæſar*'s Power to his publick Deſigns; for he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the young Man, that he called him Father; at which *Brutus* was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that in his Epiſtles to *Atticus*, he reflected on *Cicero*, ſaying, *that it was manifeſt, by his courting* Cæſar, *for fear of* Antony, *he did not intend Liberty to his Country, but deſigned a bountiful Maſter to Himſelf.* Notwithſtanding, *Brutus* took *Cicero*'s Son, then ſtudying Philoſophy at *Athens*, gave him a Command, and by his Advice directed much of his Affairs. At this time *Cicero*'s Power was at the greateſt Height in the City, and he did whatſoever he pleaſed; for he had ſuppreſſed and driven out *Antony*, and ſent the two Conſuls, *Hircius* and *Panſa*, after him with an Army; and perſuaded the Senate to decree to *Cæſar* the *Lictors* and *Prætorian* Enſigns, as to a Perſon fighting for his Country. But when *Antony* was defeated, and both the Conſuls ſlain, the Forces which came from the Battle

joined themſelves with *Cæſar*. Upon This, the Senate fearing the young Man, and his extraordinary Fortune, endeavoured by Honours and Gifts to call off the Soldiers from him, and to leſſen his Power; pretending there was no further need of Arms, now *Antony* was put to flight.

*Cæſar* being alarmed at This, privately ſent ſome Friends to intreat and perſuade *Cicero* to procure the Conſular Dignity for them Both, aſſuring him that He ſhould manage the Affairs as He pleaſed, have the Supreme Power, and govern a young Man, who was only deſirous of Name and Glory. And *Cæſar* himſelf confeſſed, that in fear of Ruin, and in danger of being deſerted, he had ſeaſonably made uſe of *Cicero*'s Ambition; perſuading him to ſtand with him, aſſiſt, and join his Votes for the Conſulſhip. And *Cicero*, old as he was, ſuffered himſelf to be wheedled and gulled by him, and was perſuaded to bring over the Senate to his Intereſt. His Friends ſoon blamed him for it; and within a little time after, He Himſelf perceived he was ruined by it, and had betrayed the Liberty of the People; for the young Man was ſo exalted, by obtaining the Conſular Authority, that he bid *Cicero* farewel; and reconciling himſelf to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, united His Power with Theirs, and divided the Government with them, as if it had been part of a common Eſtate. Thus united, they made a Schedule of above two hundred Perſons, who were deſigned to be put to Death: But the Proſcription of *Cicero* made the greateſt Contention in all their Debates: For *Antony* was inclined to no agreement, 'till he was firſt killed. *Lepidus* conſented, but *Cæſar* oppoſed them Both. Their Meetings were held alone by Themſelves, remote from Company, for three Days, near the City of *Bononia*: The Place where they met, was over-againſt the Camp, and encompaſſed with a River; *Cæſar*, as it is ſaid, very earneſtly contended for *Cicero* the two firſt Days; but on the Third Day he yielded and gave him up. The Terms of their mutual Conceſſions were Theſe; That *Cæſar* ſhould deſert *Cicero*; *Lepidus*, his Brother *Paulus*; and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæſar*, his Uncle by his Mother's ſide. So far had Anger and

Rage

Rage got the better of them as to ſtifle in them all Sentiments of Humanity, or rather ſo plainly did they make it appear by this headſtrong ungovernable Fury, that no Beaſt is more ſavage than Man, when poſſeſſed with Power anſwerable to his Paſſion. Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, *Cicero* was with his Brother at his Country Houſe near *Tuſculum*; whence, hearing of the Proſcriptions, they determined to paſs to *Aſtyra*, a Village of *Cicero*'s near the Sea, and to take Shipping from thence, and join *Brutus* in *Macedonia*; for there was a Report, that He was ſtrong in thoſe Parts. They travelled together in their ſeveral Litters, oppreſſed with Sorrow, and often joining their Litters on the Road, they affectionately condoled each other. But *Quintus* was the moſt diſheartned when he reflected on his want of Neceſſaries for his Journey; for as he ſaid, he had brought nothing with him from Home. And even *Cicero* Himſelf had but a ſlender Proviſion: It was adjudged therefore moſt expedient, that *Cicero* ſhould make what haſte he could to fly, and *Quintus* return home to provide Neceſſaries; and thus reſolved they mutually embraced, and parted, with reciprocal Fears, and Condolements.

*Quintus* within a few Days after being betrayed by his Servants to Thoſe who came to ſearch for him, was ſlain, together with his young Son: But *Cicero* was carried to *Aſtyra*; where, finding a Veſſel ready, he immediately went on board, and ſailed as far as *Circium* with a proſperous Gale; but when the Pilots reſolved immediately to hoiſt Sail from thence, whether fearing the Sea, or not wholly diſtruſting the Faith of *Cæſar*, he went on Shore, and paſſed by Land a hundred Furlongs, as if he were going for *Rome*; but wanting Reſolution, and changing his Mind, he again returned to Sea, and there ſpent his Night in melancholy and perplexed Thoughts: Sometimes he reſolved to go into *Cæſar*'s Houſe privately, and there kill himſelf upon the Altar of his Houſhold Gods, to bring divine Vengeance upon his Family; but the Fear of Torture, to which he

knew he ſhould be expoſed if he were taken, deterred him. To Theſe other Thoughts and Reſolutions ſucceeded, equally fluctuating and troubleſom. In this Perplexity he at laſt ſuffered his Servants to convey him by Sea to *Cajeta*, where he had a Country Houſe, and a pleaſant Retirement in the Spring, when the North Winds blow ſweeteſt.

There was in that Place a Chapel of *Apollo*, not far from the Sea-ſide, from which a Flight of Crows ariſing with great Noiſe, made towards *Cicero*'s Ship as it was putting into Port, and lighting on both Sides of the Croſs-Yard, Some croaked, and Others pecked the Sails. This was looked upon by All as an ill Omen, notwithſtanding which *Cicero* went on Shore; and entring his Houſe lay down upon his Bed, to compoſe himſelf to Reſt: In the mean time many of the Crows followed him, and ſettling upon the Chamber-Window, filled the Air with their horrible Croakings. One of them was ſo bold as to fly into the Chamber, made to the Bed where *Cicero* lay, and with its Bill by little and little pecked off the Cloaths with which he had covered his Face. Upon the ſight of This his Servants began to blame each other, and to ſay among themſelves, *Shall We remain idle Spectators of our Maſter's Murder, and do nothing in his Defence, whilſt the brute Creatures aſſiſt and take care of him in his undeſerved Affliction?* wherefore partly by Intreaty, partly by Force, they took him up, and carried him in his Litter towards the Sea-ſide. They had hardly got him out of the Houſe, when the Aſſaſſines came with a Band of Soldiers, commanded by *Herennius* a Centurion, and the Tribune *Popilius*, the ſame *Popilius* whom *Cicero* had heretofore defended when he was under a Proſecution for the Murder of his own Father. Theſe Officers finding the Doors ſhut forced them open, when *Cicero* not appearing, and Thoſe within ſaying, they knew not where he was; it is reported, that a Youth, who had been educated by *Cicero* in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, as emancipated Slave of his Brother *Quintus*, *Philologus* by Name, diſcovered to the Tribune, that

that they were carrying the Litter through the close and shady Walks to the Sea-side. The Tribune, taking a Few with him, ran to the Place where he was to come out. As soon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his Servants to set down the Litter; and stroking his Chin, as he used to do, with his left Hand, he looked stedfastly upon his Murderers. His Face was over-grown with Hair, and worn away with Cares, so that it was hard to distinguish him. They who attended *Herennius* covered their Faces, whilst He murdered him as he was stretching forth his Neck out of the Litter. Thus fell *Cicero*, in the sixty fourth Year of his Age. *Herennius* cut off his Head, and by *Antony*'s Command his Hand also, with which his *Philippicks* were written; for so *Cicero* stiled those Orations he wrote against him, and so they are called to this Day. When these Members of *Cicero* were brought to *Rome*, *Antony* was holding an Assembly for the Choice of publick Officers; and upon Sight of them, he said, *Now let there be an End of all our Proscriptions.*

He commanded his Head and Hand to be fastned up over the *Rostra* of the Orators; a horrid Sight to the *Roman* People, who believed they saw there not the Face of *Cicero*, but the very Image of *Antony*'s Soul. And yet amidst these Actions he did Justice in one thing, by delivering up *Philologus* to *Pomponia*, the Wife of *Quintus*; who having got his Body into her Power, besides other grievous Punishments she used, made him cut off his own Flesh by piece-meal, and boil and eat it; for so some Writers have reported: But *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s emancipated Slave, has not so much as mentioned the Treachery of *Philologus*.

Some while after, as I have heard, *Cæsar* visiting his Daughter's Son, found him with a Book of *Cicero*'s in his Hand; the Boy for Fear endeavoured to hide it under his Gown; which *Cæsar* perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great Part of the Book standing, gave it him again, and said, *My Child, this was a learned Man, and a Lover of his Country.*

As

As ſoon as he had vanquiſhed *Antony*, being then Conſul, he made *Cicero*'s Son his Collegue in that Office, in whoſe Conſulſhip the Senate took down the Statues of *Antony*, and defaced all the other Monuments of his Honour; and decreed that none of that Family ſhould hereafter bear the Name of *Marcus*. Thus did Divine Juſtice reſerve to the Houſe of *Cicero* the Completion of the Vengeance decreed upon *Antony*.

## *The Compariſon of* Demoſthenes *with* Cicero.

THESE are the moſt memorable of thoſe Things delivered in Hiſtory of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, which have come to our Knowledge: But without attempting an exact Compariſon of their ſeveral Faculties in Speaking, thus much ſeems fit to be ſaid: That *Demoſthenes*, to make himſelf a Maſter in Rhetorick, had applied all the Knowledge he had, natural or acquired, wholly that Way: That he far ſurpaſſed in Gravity, Energy and Force, thoſe who had the moſt ſucceſs in pleading, in Sublimity of Stile, thoſe who were moſt oſtentatious of a pompous manner of expreſſing themſelves in correctneſs, accuracy and ſubtlety, all the moſt conſummate Rhetoricians of his Time. That *Cicero*'s Learning and Knowledge were more univerſal and diffuſive, and that having applied himſelf to divers kinds of Studies, he left behind him a great Number of Philoſophical Tracts, which are of a Caſt peculiar to Himſelf, and were compoſed by him after the manner of the Academy. It appears in his Orations to the People, and his Pleadings before the Judges, that even on thoſe Occaſions he affected to make a ſhew of his profound Erudition. The Difference of their Tempers appears in their different Stiles; for *Demoſthenes*'s Oratory was void of all Embelliſhment, and without the leaſt Tincture of Wit, wholly compoſed to Gravity and

and Serioufneſs; not ſmelling of the Lamp, as *Pythias* ſcoffingly ſaid, but of the Temperance, Thoughtfulneſs, Auſterity, and Melancholy of his Temper. But *Cicero*, by his jeering Humour, often lanched out in Scurrility; and by diſguiſing ſerious Arguments at the Bar with Jeſts and Laughter, for the Advantage of his Client, he had no Regard to what was decent and becoming; as in his Oration for *Cælius*, where he proceeds ſo far as to ſay, That *Cælius had done nothing, either uncommon or abſurd, if in the Poſſeſſion of ſuch an affluent Fortune, he ſometimes gave himſelf up to his Pleaſures; it being a kind of Madneſs, not to enjoy thoſe things we poſſeſs, eſpecially ſince the moſt eminent Philoſophers have aſſerted Pleaſure to be the chief ſt Good.* We are told that when *Cato* brought his Action againſt *Murena*, *Cicero*, who was then Conſul, undertook his Defence, in which he ridiculed with great Licence the impertinent Paradoxes of the Stoicks, and All becauſe *Cato* was a rigid Follower of that Philoſophy. This was done in ſuch a Manner as to raiſe a loud Laugh in the whole Aſſembly, from which the Judges themſelves were not exempt; whereupon *Cato* ſaid to Thoſe, who ſat near him, *You ſee, Gentlemen, what a Droll of a Conſul we have got.*

And indeed *Cicero* was naturally very much diſpoſed to Mirth, and delighted in Jeering, as appeared from his very Countenanee, which was always gay and ſmiling; whereas *Demoſthenes* had a conſtant Care and Thoughtfulneſs in his Look, which he ſeldom or never laid aſide; and therefore was accounted by his Enemies, as he himſelf confeſſeth, *moroſe and ill-natured.*

It is very evident from their ſeveral Writings, that *Demoſthenes* never touched upon his own Commendations, but decently and without Offence, when there was need of it, and for ſome weighty End; upon other Occaſions he was very modeſt and reſerved: But *Cicero*'s immeaſurable boaſting of himſelf in his Orations, proclaimed in Him an intemperate Thirſt after Glory: As when he cried out,

*Let Arms reſign their Honour to the Gown.* But

But at last he did not only extol his own Deeds and Actions, but his Orations also, as well Those that were only spoken, as Those that were published; as if he were vying in youthful Confidence with *Isocrates* and *Anaximenes*, the Sophisters; not as if he were instructing and directing the *Roman* People, *the hardy, warlike, and irresistible* Romans.

It is necessary indeed for a Statesman to be an able Speaker; but it is an ignoble Thing for any Great Man to admire and be vain of Eloquence. And in this Matter *Demosthenes* shewed a more than ordinary Gravity and Elevation of Mind; for he said, *his Faculty in speaking was but a mean Acquirement, and needed great Candor in the Audience*; esteeming Those who are puffed up by such Acquisitions to be, as indeed they are, servile and Mechanical. But the Power of persuading and governing the People did equally belong to Both; so that They who had Armies and Camps at Command, stood in need of their Assistance; as *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Lecsthenes* did of *Demosthenes*; *Pompey* and young *Cæsar* of *Cicero*; as *Cæsar* Himself acknowledges in his Commentaries to *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*.

But what is thought and commonly said most to demonstrate and try the Tempers of Men, Authority and Power, which are apt to awaken and excite all the Passions, and unavoidably expose whatever Weakness and Defect lay lurking in them, never happened to *Demosthenes*; He never had occasion of giving such Proof of himself, having never obtained any eminent Office, nor led any of those Armies into the Field against *Philip*, which he had raised by his Eloquence.

But *Cicero* went Quæstor into *Sicily*, and Proconsul into *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, at a time when Avarice was at the height, and the Commanders and Governors who were employed aboard, thinking it beneath them to steal, set themselves to seize by open force, and thought it no hainous matter for a Magistrate to take Bribes: But He that did it most moderately, and with a sparing Hand, was in good esteem; and yet then *Cicero* in the whole Course of his Administration gave great Demonstrations

ſtrations of his Contempt of Riches, and as great of his Humanity and Good-nature.

And at *Rome* alſo, when he was created Conſul in Name, but indeed received Sovereign and Dictatorial Authority againſt *Catiline* and his Accomplices, he atteſted the Truth of *Plato*'s Prediction, *That then States and Cities would be delivered from all their Calamities, when by a happy Conjunction the ſupreme Power, Wiſdom, and Juſtice, ſhould meet together and combine in the ſame Subject.*

It is ſaid to the Reproach of *Demoſthenes*, that his Eloquence was mercenary; that he privately made Orations for *Phormio* and *Apollodorus*, tho' Adverſaries in the ſame Cauſe; that he was charged with Money received from the Kings of *Perſia*, and condemned for Bribes from *Harpalus*: And ſhould we grant all Thoſe that have written theſe things againſt him (which are not a few) to have falſified; yet it cannot be denied, but that *Demoſthenes* wanted Courage and Reſolution to reſiſt thoſe Preſents, which in Reſpect and Gratitude were ſent him from the Kings; nor was it otherwiſe to be expected from a Perſon addicted as he was to Maritime Uſury.

But that *Cicero* did refuſe from the *Sicilians*, when he was Quæſtor, from the King of *Cappadocia*, when he was Proconſul, and from his Friends at *Rome*, when he was in Exile, many Preſents, though urged to receive them, has been ſaid already. Moreover, *Demoſthenes*'s Baniſhment was infamous, upon Conviction for Bribery; *Cicero*'s very honourable, for ridding his Country of Men of pernicious Principles and Practices. Accordingly when *Demoſthenes* was baniſhed no ſtreſs was laid upon it, but upon *Cicero*'s Exile the Senate changed their Habit, and put on Mourning, and would not be perſuaded to paſs any Act 'till *Cicero*'s Return was decreed by the People.

It muſt be confeſſed, *Cicero* ſpent the time of His Exile in great Eaſe and Indolence in *Macedonia*, whereas That of *Demoſthenes* may be conſidered even as a Continuation

tinuation of his publick Service and Administration. For he travelled through all the Cities of *Greece*, supporting their joint Interests, and defeating the Designs of the *Macedonian* Ambassadors; in This approving himself a much better Citizen than *Themistocles*, and *Alcibiades*, who did not manifest the like Virtue in the like Circumstances of Fortune. And after his Return, he again applied himself to the same Publick Services, and continued opposing *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*; whereas *Lælius* reproached *Cicero* in full Senate, for sitting with his Mouth shut, whilst *Octavius*, a beardless Stripling, demanded leave to stand for the Consulate, for which he was not qualified by Law. And *Brutus*, in his Epistle, charges him *with cherishing a greater, and more heavy Tyranny than That They had removed.*

To conclude; as to their Ends, it is impossible not to be touched with Compassion to behold an old Man committing himself out of Fear to his Servants, to be born by Them from Place to Place, to elude the Search of his Enemies, and shun a Death, which of itself was naturally hastening towards him, and who, notwithstanding all the Shifts and Evasions, fell at last into their Hands, and was butchered by them. Whereas *Demosthenes*, tho' at first he descended so low as to Intreaties and Supplications, yet one cannot but admire his seasonable Care in providing himself with Poison as his last Resort; the Caution wherewith he preserved it, and the courageous Use he at last made of it: When finding the Temple of *Neptune* to be an ineffectual Sanctuary, he had Recourse to That which is the most inviolable, and by a voluntary Death rescued himself out of the Hands of Those who had him in their Custody, and so eluded the Cruelty of *Antipater*.

*The End of the Seventh Volume.*